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ANNUAL REPORT



AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1917



WASHINGTON

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., October 22, 1918.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1917. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES D. WALCOTT, *Secretary.*

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding \$500,000, to adopt a constitution, and make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such report, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., September 9, 1918.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, as provided by law, the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1917. This report includes the proceedings of the association at its thirty-third annual meeting held at Philadelphia on December 27-29, 1917, together with the proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at its fourteenth annual meeting held in Berkeley, Calif., on November 30 to December 1, 1917. The eighteenth report of the Public Archives Commission, also included in the present volume, contains, in addition to the proceedings of the eighth annual conference of archivists, a report on the public archives of the State of Idaho prepared under the direction of the commission, while the thirteenth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission constitutes a valuable contribution to the history of the Mexican War in the form of the letters of Gen. Santa Anna.

Very respectfully, yours,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

To the SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C.

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CONSTITUTION.

I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, and a treasurer. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided in the by-laws.

V.

There shall be an executive council constituted as follows:

1. The officers named in Article IV.
2. Elected members, eight in number, to be chosen annually in the same manner as the officers of the association.
3. The former presidents, but a former president shall be entitled to vote for the three years succeeding the expiration of his term as president, and no longer.

VI.

The executive council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the association. In the exercise of its proper functions, the council may appoint such committees, commissions, and boards as it may deem necessary. The council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meet-

ing of the association. The association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the executive council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action in directing the affairs of the association as it may deem necessary and proper.

VII.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

BY-LAWS.

I.

The officers provided for by the constitution shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

II.

A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual business meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the association. At such convenient time prior to the 15th of September as it may determine it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual business meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least one month prior to the annual business meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual business meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by twenty or more members of the association at least one day before the annual business meeting, but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the committee shall have reported its nominations to the association as provided for in the present by-law. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

III.

The annual election of officers and the choice of a nominating committee for the ensuing year shall be conducted by the use of an official ballot prepared as described in by-law II.

IV.

The association authorizes the payment of traveling expenses incurred by the voting members of the council attending one meeting of that body a year, this meeting to be other than that held in connection with the annual meeting of the association.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress,
January 4, 1889.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 29, 1917.

PRESIDENT :

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL. D., LITT. D., L. H. D.,
Cambridge.

VICE PRESIDENTS :

EDWARD CHANNING, PH. D.,
Harvard University.

JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, F. B. A.,
French Embassy.

SECRETARY :

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

TREASURER :

CHARLES MOORE, PH. D.,
Detroit.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL :

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D.,
University of Illinois.

CURATOR :

A HOWARD CLARK, A. M.,
Smithsonian Institution.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL :

(In addition to the above-named officers.)
(Ex-Presidents.)

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L.,
Ithaca, N. Y.

HENRY ADAMS, LL. D.,
Washington, D. C.

JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. LITT.,
Boston, Mass.

JOHN BACH McMASTER, A. M., PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D.,
New Haven, Conn.

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D.,
Yale University.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D.,
Columbia University.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L.,
Oyster Bay, N. Y.

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D.,
Columbia University.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. D., LL. B.,
University of Chicago.

H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D.,
University of California.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D.,
Cornell University.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M.,
Massachusetts Historical Society.

(Elected Councillors.)

SAMUEL B. HARDING, PH. D.,
Indiana State University.

LUCY M. SALMON, A. M., L. H. D.,
Vassar College.

HENRY E. BOURNE, L. H. D.,
Western Reserve University.

GEORGE M. WRONG, M. A., F. R. S. C.,
University of Toronto.

HERBERT E. BOLTON, B. L., PH. D.,
University of California.

WILLIAM E. DODD, PH. D.,
University of Chicago.

WALTER L. FLEMING, M. S., PH. D.,
Vanderbilt University.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, PH. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 1, 1917.

PRESIDENT:

JOSEPH M. GLEASON, A. M., S. T. B.,
Palo Alto, Cal.

VICE PRESIDENT:

OLIVER H. RICHARDSON, PH. D.,
University of Washington.

SECRETARY-TREASURER:

WILLIAM A. MORRIS, PH. D.,
University of California.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

ROBERT C. CLARK, PH. D.,
University of Oregon.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME, M. A.,
University of Idaho.

WALDEMAR C. WESTERGAARD, A. B., M. L.,
Pomona College.

EDNA H. STONE, A. B.,
Oakland, Cal.

TERMS OF OFFICE.

(Deceased officers are marked thus: †.)

EX-PRESIDENTS.

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L., 1884-1885.
†GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D., 1885-1886.
†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1886-1887.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1887-1888.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1888-1889.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889-1890.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1890-1891.
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1891-1893.
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1893-1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1895.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1896.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1897.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1898.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1899.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1900.
†CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1901.
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1903.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1904.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1905.
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1906.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1907.
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1908.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1909.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1910.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, Ph. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1911.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1912.
WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph. D., LL. D., 1913.
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B., LL. D., 1914.
H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., Litt. D., 1915.
GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., Litt. D., 1916.
WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M., 1917.

EX-VICE PRESIDENTS.

†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1884-1886.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1884-1888.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1886-1887.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1887-1889.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1888-1890.
†JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1889-1891.
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1890-1893.
†EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891-1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1894.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1895.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1895, 1896.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1896, 1897.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1897, 1898.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1898, 1899.
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1899, 1900.
†CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1900.
†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, Ph. D., LL. D., 1901.
†ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1902.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902, 1903.

†EDWARD MCCRADY, LL. D., 1903.

JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1904.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1904, 1905.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1905, 1906.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1906, 1907.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1907, 1908.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1908, 1909.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1909, 1910.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1910, 1911.

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1911, 1912.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B., LL. D., 1912, 1913.

H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1913, 1914.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., LITT. D., 1914, 1915.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD, A. M., 1915, 1916.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL. D., LITT. D., L. H. D., 1916, 1917.

SECRETARIES.

†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1884-1900.

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-1908.

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1900-1913.

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M., 1908—

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1914—

TREASURERS.

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D., 1884-1917.

CHARLES MOORE, PH. D., 1917—

CURATOR.

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889—

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

†WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A. M., 1884-1886.

†CHARLES DEANE, LL. D., 1884-1887.

†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1884-1885.

EPHRAIM EMERTON, PH. D., 1884-1885.

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A. M., LITT. D., 1885-1887.

†WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN, A. M., 1885-1887.

†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1886-1888

†RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, LL. D., 1887-1888.

JOHN W. BURGESS, PH. D., LL. D., 1887-1891.

†ARTHUR MARTIN WHEELER, A. M., LL. D., 1887-1889.

†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1888-1891.

†GEORGE BROWN GOODE, LL. D., 1889-1896.

JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, C. M. G., D. C. L., LL. D., 1889-1894.

JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1891-1894.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1891-1897; 1898-1901.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L., 1894-1895.

†JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY, LL. D., 1894-1895.

H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1895-1899.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1895-1899; 1901-1904.

†EDWARD MINER GALLAUDET, PH. D., LL. D., 1896-1897.

†MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, LL. D., 1897-1900.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LITT. D., 1897-1900.

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B., LL. D., 1898-1901; 1903-1906.

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1899-1902.

†PETER WHITE, A. M., 1899-1902.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1900-1903.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, PH. D., LL. D., 1900-1903.

HERBERT PUTNAM, LITT. D., LL. D., 1901-1904.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., 1902-1905.

EDWARD POTTS CHEYNEY, LL. D., 1902-1905.

†EDWARD G. BOURNE, PH. D., 1903-1906.

†GEORGE P. GARRISON, PH. D., 1904-1907.

†REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D., 1904-1907.

CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS, PH. D., L. H. D., 1905-1908.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, PH. D., 1905-1908.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A. M., 1906-1909.
WILLIAM MacDONALD, PH. D., LL. D., 1906-1909.
MAX FARRAND, PH. D., 1907-1910.
FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, PH. M., 1907-1910.
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1908-1911.
CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH. D., 1908-1911.
FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY, A. M., PH. D., 1909-1912.
EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, PH. D., LL. D., 1909-1912.
JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH. D., LL. D., 1910-1913.
FRED MORROW FLING, PH. D., 1910-1913.
HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, PH. D., 1911-1914.
DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A. M., 1911-1914.
ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, PH. D., 1912-1914.
JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH. D., LL. D., 1912-1915.
FREDERIC BANCROFT, PH. D., LL. D., 1913-1915.
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1913-1916.
EUGENE C. BARKER, PH. D., 1914-1917.
GUY S. FORD, B. L., PH. D., 1914-1917.
ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, PH. D., 1914-1917.
LUCY M. SALMON, A. M., L. H. D., 1915—
SAMUEL B. HARDING, PH. D., 1915—
HENRY E. BOURNE, A. B., B. D., L. H. D., 1916—
CHARLES MOORE, PH. D., 1916-1917.
GEORGE M. WRONG, M. A., 1916—
HERBERT E. BOLTON, B. L., PH. D., 1917—
WILLIAM E. DODD, PH. D., 1917—
WALTER L. FLEMING, M. S., PH. D., 1917—
WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, PH. D., 1917—

COMMITTEES APPOINTED DECEMBER 29, 1917.

- Committee on program for the thirty-fourth annual meeting.*—Samuel B. Harding, chairman; John S. Bassett, Carl Becker, E. J. Benton, A. E. R. Boak, William E. Dodd, Julius Klein, Augustus H. Shearer (*ex officio*).
- Committee on local arrangements.*—Myron T. Herrick, chairman; Wallace H. Cathcart, vice-chairman; Samuel B. Platner, secretary; Elroy M. Avery, Elbert J. Benton, C. W. Bingham, Henry E. Bourne, A. S. Chisholm, Arthur H. Clark, James R. Garfield, Frank M. Gregg, Ralph King, Samuel Mather, William P. Palmer, Frank F. Prentiss, Charles F. Thwing, J. H. Wade.
- Committee on nominations.*—Charles H. Ambler, University of West Virginia, chairman; Christopher B. Coleman, Carl R. Fish, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Victor H. Paltsits.
- Editors of the American Historical Review.*—Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carl Becker, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Claude H. Van Tyne.
- Historical manuscripts commission.*—Justin H. Smith, 270 Beacon Street, Boston, chairman; Dice R. Anderson, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Logan Esarey, Gailard Hunt, Charles H. Lincoln, Milo M. Quaife.
- Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.*—Frederic L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Edward S. Corwin, Frank H. Hodder, Ida M. Tarbell, Oswald G. Villard.
- Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.*—Ruth Putnam, 2025 O Street NW., Washington, chairman; Charles D. Hazen, Robert H. Lord, Louis J. Paetow, Conyers Read.
- Public archives commission.*—Victor H. Paltsits, New York Public Library, chairman; Eugene C. Barker, Solon J. Buck, John C. Fitzpatrick, George N. Fuller, George S. Godard, Peter Guilday, Thomas M. Owen.
- Committee on bibliography.*—George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, Middletown, chairman; Frank A. Golder, Adelaide R. Hasse, William T. Laprade, Albert H. Lybyer, Wallace Notestein, William W. Rockwell, Augustus H. Shearer, Bernard C. Steiner.
- Committee on publications.*—H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George M. Dutcher, Evarts B. Greene, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Frederic L. Paxson, Ruth Putnam, Justin H. Smith.
- Committee on history in schools.*—Victoria A. Adams, Henry L. Cannon, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, James A. James, Daniel C. Knowlton, August C. Krey, Robert A. Maurer, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Rolla M. Tryon, J. H. Van Sickle, William L. Westermann. (Chairmanship vacant during 1918.)
- Conference of historical societies.*—Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, secretary.

Advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine.—Henry Johnson, Teachers College, chairman; Fred M. Fling, Margaret McGill, James Sullivan, Fred-
eric Duncalf, O. H. Williams.

Special committee on policy.—Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, chair-
man; Carl Becker, William E. Dodd, Guy S. Ford, Dana C. Munro.

Special committee on the historical congress at Rio de Janeiro.—Bernard Moses,
University of California, chairman; Julius M. Klein, 1824 Belmont Road,
Washington, secretary; Charles L. Chandler, Charles H. Cunningham,
Percy A. Martin.

*Special committee on American educational and scientific enterprises in the Ot-
toman Empire.*—Edward C. Moore, Harvard University, chairman; James
H. Breasted, Albert H. Lybyer.

Committee on the military history prize.—Robert M. Johnston, Cambridge,
Mass., chairman; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, Fred M. Flink,
Albert Bushnell Hart.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

The American Historical Association is the national organization of those persons interested in history and in the promotion of historical work and studies. It was founded in 1884 by a group of representative scholars, and in 1889 was incorporated by act of Congress, its national character being emphasized by fixing its principal office in Washington and by providing for the governmental publication of its annual reports. Its present membership of 2,700 is drawn from every State of the Union as well as from all the Territories and dependencies, from Canada and South America, and from 13 other foreign countries. The association should appeal through its meetings, publications, and other activities not only to the student, writer, or teacher of history, but to the librarian, the archivist, the editor, the man of letters, to all who have any interest in history, local, national, or general, and to those who believe that correct knowledge of the past is essential to a right understanding of the present.

The meetings of the association are held annually during the last week in December in cities so situated as best to accommodate in turn the members in different parts of the country. The average attendance at the meetings is about 400, representing generally 40 or more States and Canada, while from 75 to 100 members usually have an active part in the program. But it is the opportunity afforded for acquaintance and social intercourse quite as much as the formal sessions and conferences that make the meetings so agreeable and profitable.

The annual report, usually in two volumes, is printed for the association by the Government and is distributed free to members. It contains the proceedings of the association and the more important papers read at the annual meetings, as well as valuable collections of documents, bibliographical contributions, reports on American archives, on the activities of historical societies, on the teaching of history, etc.

The American Historical Review is a quarterly journal of two hundred or more pages. Each issue contains at least five authoritative articles in different fields of history, as well as selected documents, critical reviews of all new works of any importance, and a section devoted to historical news of periodical and other publications, institutions, societies, and persons. The Review is recognized, both in this country and abroad, as the standard American journal devoted to history, and it easily takes rank with the leading European journals, such as the English Historical Review or the *Revue Historique*. It is indispensable to all who desire to keep abreast with the historical work of the world, and of great value and interest to the general reader. The Review is distributed free to all members of the association.

The association also publishes the Prize Essays, a series of annual volumes comprising the essays to which are awarded in alternate years the Herbert Baxter Adams and the Justin Winsor prizes of \$200 each, for the best monographs in European and American history, respectively. These volumes are supplied to members at \$1 each and to non-members at \$1.50.

To the subject of history teaching the association has given much and consistent attention. Round table conferences have been held, committees have

been appointed, investigations made, reports and papers read at nearly every annual meeting. The high standard of excellence in the teaching of history throughout the United States is due in no small degree to the association's activity in this direction. The Report of the Committee of Seven on history in the secondary schools, published in 1898 and supplemented in 1910, and the Report of the Committee of Eight on history in the elementary schools, published in 1909, form the basis of the present curriculum of history in most of the schools of the country. There is at present a standing committee on history in schools charged with the consideration of such questions as may come before it relative to the teaching of history. Furthermore, recognizing the importance of this phase of its work and its relation to the future citizenship of the Nation, the association in 1911 assumed a guiding interest in the *History Teacher's Magazine*, a monthly journal of the greatest practical value to the teacher of history.

Realizing the importance and value of the work of the many State and local historical societies, the association has from its earliest days maintained close relations with these kindred organizations. Since 1904 a conference of delegates of historical societies has been held in connection with the annual meetings of the association. At these conferences are considered the problems of historical societies—for example, the arousing of local interest in history, the marking of historic sites, the collection and publication of historical material, the maintenance of historical museums, etc.; cooperative enterprises, too great for any one society, but possible for several acting together, are also planned. The most important of these enterprises, the preparation of a catalogue of the documents in French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley, is now nearing successful completion.

An important function of the association is the discovery and exploitation of the manuscript sources of American history. Thus, the historical manuscripts commission, created in 1895 as a standing committee, has published in the *Annual Reports* nearly 8,000 pages of historical documents, including such collections as the correspondence of John C. Calhoun; the papers of Salmon P. Chase; the dispatches of the French commissioners in the United States, 1791–1797; the correspondence of Clark and Genet, 1793–94; the diplomatic correspondence of the Republic of Texas; the correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb; the papers of James A. Bayard, etc.

Realizing that the public records, which constitute the principal source for the history of any country, were generally neglected in America, and that this neglect had caused, and must continue to cause, irreparable losses, the association created in 1899 the public archives commission, the function of which was to examine and report upon the general character, historical value, physical condition, and administration of the public records of the various States and of the smaller political divisions. The commission has now published reports on the archives of over 40 States, and has furthermore been instrumental in securing legislation providing for the proper care and administration of so valuable a class of historical material. Since 1909 the commission has held an annual conference of archivists, in connection with the meetings of the association, for the discussion of the more or less technical problems that confront the custodian of public records.

In the meantime the association is working actively to secure for the national archives at Washington a central building where the records of the Federal Government may be properly housed and cared for, instead of being, as at present, scattered among several hundred offices, where they are too often in the gravest danger from fire or other destructive forces.

Bibliography, the indispensable tool of the historian and the guide of the layman, has not been neglected. The committee on bibliography has recently published A Union List of Collections on European History in American Libraries which has proved of the greatest value to librarians and students alike. A special committee is at present engaged in cooperation with a committee of English scholars, in the preparation of a descriptive and critical bibliography of modern English history. For some years now there has been prepared and published under the auspices of the association an annual bibliography of Writings on American History, which contains a practically complete list, in some 3,000 items, of all books and periodical articles appearing during the year. It is generally recognized as the most complete and usable of all the national bibliographies. Bibliographies on special subjects have been printed from time to time in the annual reports; especially should be noted a Bibliography of American Historical Societies, filling over 1,300 pages, which was printed in the annual report for 1905.

In 1904 a Pacific coast branch was organized, which, while an integral part of the association, elects local officers and holds separate annual meetings. Its proceedings are published in the annual reports. In 1914 headquarters of the association were established in London for the benefit of the many American students working there in the Public Record Office and in the British Museum. The association is enabled to share the building of the Royal Historical Society, 22 Russell Square. At the same time plans were on foot to establish an office in Paris, where the hospitality of the Ministry of Public Instruction had been offered to the association. The war unfortunately made it necessary to suspend this project, but it will be taken up again at a more propitious season. Doubtless offices or rooms will in time be opened in other European capitals as the demands of American students may seem to justify such action.

The association has from the first pursued the policy of inviting to its membership not only those professionally or otherwise actively engaged in historical work, but also those whose interest in history or in the advancement of historical science is such that they wish to ally themselves with the association in the furtherance of its various objects.

Membership in the association is obtained through election by the executive council, upon nomination by a member, or by direct application. The annual dues are \$3, there being no initiation fee. The life membership is \$50, and carries with it exemption from all annual dues.

All inquiries respecting the association, its work, publications, prizes, meetings, membership, etc., may be addressed to the Secretary of the American Historical Association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. To him also or to the secretary of the council, 315 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Ill., should be directed all communications relative to gifts or bequests for the benefit of the association.

HISTORICAL PRIZES.

[Winsor and Adams prizes.]

For the purpose of encouraging historical research the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each prize of \$200—the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Winsor prize is offered in the even years (as heretofore), and the Adams prize in the odd years. Both prizes are designed to encourage writers who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Either prize shall be awarded for an excellent monograph or essay, printed or in manuscript, submitted to or selected by the committee of award. Monographs must be submitted on or before July 1 of the given year. In the case of a printed monograph the date of publication must fall within a period of two years prior to July 1. A monograph to which a prize has been awarded in manuscript may, if it is deemed in all respects available, be published in the annual report of the association. Competition shall be limited to monographs written or published in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere.

In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression and logical arrangement. The successful monograph must reveal marked excellence of style. Its subject matter should afford a distinct contribution to knowledge of a sort beyond that having merely personal or local interest. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism. A manuscript—including text, notes, bibliography, appendices, etc.—must not exceed 100,000 words if designed for publication in the annual report of the association.

The Justin Winsor prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history. The phrase "American history" includes the history of the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history, as in the case of the Winsor prize.

Inquiries regarding these prizes should be addressed to the chairmen of the respective committees, or to the secretary of the association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following:

1896. Herman V. Ames, "The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

1900. William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina;" with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke, "Anti-slavery sentiment before 1808."

1901. Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State rights;" with honorable mention of M. Louise Greene, "The struggle for religious liberty in Connecticut."

1902. Charles McCarthy, "The Anti-Masonic Party;" with honorable mention of W. Roy Smith, "South Carolina as a Royal Province."

1903. Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The American colonial charter: A study of its relation to English administration, chiefly after 1688."

1904. William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound controversy;" with honorable mention of C. O. Paullin, "The Navy of the American Revolution."

1906. Annie Heloise Abel, "The history of events resulting in Indian consolidation west of the Mississippi River."

1908. Clarence Edwin Carter, "Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1765-1774;" with honorable mention of Charles Henry Ambler, "Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861."

1910. Edward Raymond Turner, "The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery—servitude—freedom, 1639-1861."

1912. Charles Arthur Cole, "The Whig Party in the South."

1914. Mary W. Williams, "Anglo-American Isthmian diplomacy, 1815-1915."

1916. Richard J. Purcell, "Connecticut in transition, 1775-1818."

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to:

1905. David S. Muzzey, "The spiritual Franciscans;" with honorable mention of Eloise Ellery, "Jean Pierre Brissot."

1907. In equal division, Edward B. Krehbiel, "The Interdict: Its history and its operation;" with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III;" and William S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

1909. Wallace Notestein, "A history of witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718."

1911. Louise Fargo Brown, "The political activities of the Baptists and Fifth-Monarchy men in England during the Interregnum."

1913. Violet Barbour, "Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington."

1915. Theodore C. Pease, "The Leveller movement;" with honorable mention of F. C. Melvin, "Napoleon's system of licensed navigation, 1806-1814."

1917. Frederick L. Nussbaum, "G. J. A. Ducher: An essay in the political history of mercantilism during the French Revolution."

The essays of Messrs. Muzzey, Krehbiel, Carter, Notestein, Turner, Cole, Pease, Purcell, Miss Brown, Miss Barbour, and Miss Williams have been published by the association in a series of separate volumes. The earlier Winsor prize essays were printed in the annual reports.

MILITARY HISTORY PRIZE.

A prize of \$250 is offered for the best approved essay on a subject in military history. The fields of study are not limited, but the Civil War is recommended as especially suitable. While the committee expects that the essays submitted will range from about 20,000 to 50,000 words, this is not intended as an absolute condition. All essays must be submitted in typewritten form, and sent to the chairman of the committee, Prof. R. M. Johnston, 275 Widener Hall, Cambridge, Mass., by August 31, 1918.

I. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-THIRD
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., DECEMBER 27-29, 1917.

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT PHILADELPHIA.¹

The American Historical Association has now held at least two of its annual meetings in each of the four chief centers of American population. It held at New York the meeting of 1896 and the twenty-fifth anniversary meeting of 1909; at Boston those of 1887, 1899, and 1912; at Chicago a summer meeting of somewhat special character in 1893, at the time of the World's Fair, and meetings in December of 1904 and 1914; and has now held two meetings in Philadelphia, those of 1902 and 1917. Anyone who has attended, at the same city, or in each of them, two of these meetings, ten or fifteen years apart, has ready means of measuring the society's progress and the advancement made in the range and quality of its proceedings. It is all very gratifying, and most of all because of the rich promise it offers of still further improvement in the future.

One or two aspects of the Philadelphia meeting were, however, especially gratifying. In November and December there had been, in this as in other scientific societies, evidences of doubt in some minds as to whether it were not better, in war time, to omit these large annual gatherings, in the interest of economy of money and effort. They are indeed expensive. They are more expensive than they should be. No local committee of arrangements likes to show the American Historical Association any but the best hotel in its city, though few there be among the members of that worthy but impecunious fraternity who habitually put up at the best hotels in the cities which they visit on other occasions. To be forced to stay at an expensive hotel because it is headquarters is in some respects agreeable (especially if there is a cheap restaurant near at hand), but when we add to the cost the expense and present difficulty of railroad travel, there is much to deter us, especially in war time, from going far to attend the meetings of a scientific society. With the next meeting scheduled to take place in Minneapolis, the association did prudently in voting authority to the executive council to omit the meeting of December, 1918, or change place and plan, if conditions attending the war develop before September in such a manner that action of this sort seems to the council expedient.

But with the pressure of the war no further advanced than it was in December, 1917, it could fairly be said that, if the transac-

¹ This account is adapted from that in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1918.

tions of a national historical society were what they should be, they were worth to the Government and the country all that they cost. No national effort of such prodigious magnitude and power as that which we are called upon to make can be made by any nation which is not fully conscious of an inspiring past. Of all the factors that make a nation, a common history is perhaps the most potent; and the present war of nations is visibly a product of history. Much knowledge of European history is necessary toward its comprehension, much thought and feeling respecting American history toward bearing successfully our part in its prosecution. A national historical society with no thoughts above the level of antiquarianism might better not convene in such days as these, but a national historical society with the right spirit could not hold an annual meeting without sending its members home heartened to the performance of every patriotic duty, nor without extending in some measure throughout the nation the inspiring and clarifying influence of sound historical thinking and right patriotic feeling.

Fortunately—though not by accident, nor with any ground for surprise—such has been the spirit and temper of the American Historical Association. It is no accident that such men wish now, more than ever, to connect their studies of the past with the life of the present, to relate every portion of history to the impending crisis of civilization, and to concentrate attention on those parts that are really significant and directly helpful, yet to do all this without allowing the judgment to be warped by the events and passions of the hour, without ceasing to see the life of the race steadily and see it whole. At the Cincinnati meeting, and still more at that lately held at Philadelphia, those who made the program and those who took part in it advanced from the ignoring attitude of 1914 and 1915 to a frank recognition of the war as the historical event now uppermost in all minds, from ground perhaps suitable to spectators to ground appropriate for participants, and did so without excitement or partisanship or loss of judgment. Such discussions by teachers and writers are surely useful to the nation.

Not only was the meeting marked by unwonted enthusiasm, but it was attended by much greater numbers than would generally be expected in such times. The registration amounted to 379, a figure which has only a few times been surpassed. No doubt the historic and other attractions of Philadelphia were in large part responsible for this unusually great attendance. No city has so many and so important associations with the beginnings of our national life, and none has so many visible memorials of those events to attract the patriotic pilgrim. A special occasion was provided, on one of the afternoons of the session, for visits to these historic scenes of old Philadelphia and to the American Philosophical Society.

Additional numbers may well have been drawn to the meeting by Philadelphia's established fame for hospitality. Besides all that was done privately to sustain those hospitable traditions, the University of Pennsylvania, in whose buildings all the sessions of one of the three days (Dec. 27, 28, 29) were held, entertained all members to luncheon and to supper on that day. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in whose hall Mr. Worthington Ford delivered on the first evening his presidential address, followed that address, in its usual handsome manner, with a reception and supper. The conference of archivists and that of historical societies were held in the same building. Other sessions of the first and third days were mostly held in various rooms of the hotel chosen as official headquarters, the Bellevue-Stratford. The privileges of the College Club and of the New Century Club were extended to women members attending the meeting, those of the Franklin Inn Club to the men. The chairman of the committee on local arrangements was Mr. George Wharton Pepper, the vice chairman, Prof. William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, to whom, and to other professors in that university, the attending members are greatly indebted. The chairman of the committee on program was Prof. John B. McMaster, the vice chairman Prof. Herman V. Ames, of the same institution.

Other learned societies which met at the same time and place were the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Philological Society, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland. The session on ancient history was held as a joint session with the first two of these bodies; that on medieval church history as a joint session with the American Society of Church History, which, meeting as usual in New York, adjourned to Philadelphia for this final session; the conference of teachers of history as a joint session with the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland; while the last session of all was held in common with the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Society. At that session the members of the various societies were favored with an interesting informal address by the Hon. Robert Brand, deputy chairman of the British War Mission, well known for work connected with the federation of South Africa, on the "British Commonwealth of Nations"; Hon. Edward P. Costigan, of the United States Tariff Commission, read an address on "Economic alliances, commercial treaties, and tariff adjustments," partly historical in character, in so far as it touched upon the experiments of the United States in reciprocity since 1890;¹ and Prof.

¹ Mr. Costigan's paper appears in the supplement to the *American Economic Review* for March, 1918.

Wallace Notestein, of the University of Minnesota, read a paper, at once entertaining and of solid value, on the "Pan-German use of history."

At noon of the first day, the members of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association came together in a subscription luncheon, at which M. Louis Aubert, of the French High Commission, spoke eloquently of the aid of historians in winning the war, and Prof. Guy S. Ford, of the University of Minnesota, who since May has been performing invaluable services as director of the Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation in the Committee on Public Information at Washington, described the educational work of that committee in detail and in a manner to convince all hearers of the high value of its labors. Several subscription dinners of those having a common interest in an individual field of history were arranged, in accordance with a custom which has been growing of late, and were eminently successful—a dinner of those interested in military history, one of members interested in the history of the Far East, and one of members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. There was also a breakfast of those interested in Latin-American history and in the foundation of the new *Hispanic-American Historical Review*; and a subscription luncheon of teachers, at which the subject of discussion was the War and the Teaching of History, and at which an interesting letter addressed to those present by M. Édouard de Billy, French Deputy High Commissioner, was read by M. François Monod.

Though several of the sessions were entitled conferences and had in part that character, the familiar difficulty of eliciting real discussion of substantive papers confined those sessions mostly to formal written contributions; but there were, as usual, three conferences that call for independent description, the fourteenth annual conference of representatives of State and local historical societies, the ninth annual conference of archivists and, the conference of teachers of history.

The conference of historical societies now met for the first time under the constitution provided for it by the association a year before, which gives it an autonomous status; and organized by the choice of Mr. Thomas L. Montgomery, librarian of the Pennsylvania State Library, as chairman; and of several committees. The secretary of the new organization is Dr. Augustus H. Shearer, of the Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, appointed to that position by the council a year before. Preparations were made for the issue in 1918 of a handbook of American historical societies. The proceedings of the conference were mainly occupied with the problem of the relations between historical societies and the various hereditary-patriotic societies, especially in the matter of cooperation in publication. Judge Norris

S. Barratt, of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas, read a paper on the publications issued by societies of the latter class, and the need of avoiding duplication. The plan of a joint committee, in which each such society should be represented, and which should systematize printing, and by agreement assign to each society the field, and method of publication which it should adopt, was elaborated by Prof. William Libbey, of Princeton University; and by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was voted that the president of the American Historical Association should be requested to appoint a committee of 13, representing all types of organization involved, to consider closer cooperation and report a plan for avoiding duplication of effort and securing a better and more systematic publication of historical material. For the remainder of the conference the topic was the collection by historical societies of local material on the present war; Prof. Harlow C. Lindley and Dr. Solon J. Buck gave useful descriptions of methods pursued by the Indiana State Library and the Minnesota Historical Society respectively.¹

The chief theme in the conference of archivists was the collection and preservations of war records. Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution, secretary of the National Board for Historical Service, presented in outline the general subject of "Archives of the War." He emphasized the great need of preserving properly the official documents and papers produced by the Federal, State, and local governments of the Union in their various conventional departments, and showed in part what was being done in this direction, and by libraries; but he dwelt more largely on the need of preserving proper records of the doings of those newer governmental or semi-official or extra official bodies which have been created in such numbers for purposes connected with the war. Starting without traditions of office and with instant needs for boundless activity, such organizations are likely to forget the importance of preserving for future times the records of their activities. Yet after all their achievements should hold as high and as instructive a place in the history of the war as those of all the traditional divisions of the old-line military or political mechanism, for the future historian of the war will see it, in this country as in others, as a prodigious and many-sided effort of the whole Nation. What has been done to cause these newer bodies to conserve historical material was set forth by Mr. Leland in general terms, and was exemplified in a particular instance by a fuller description, presented by Mr. Everett S. Brown, of the archives of the Food Administration as historical

¹ A fuller account of the proceedings, in a brief pamphlet of eight pages, has been prepared by Dr. Shearer, and may be obtained from him. The complete proceedings are printed in this present volume.

sources. Prof. Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University of America, editor of the *Catholic Historical Review*, speaking to the title, the "Collection of Catholic war records," described the systematic endeavors made, on a large scale, by the war record committee of the Catholic National War Council, operating through 119 diocesan subcommittees, to collect all sorts of material relating to the war which could be obtained from members of the Catholic Church, the portions relating to Catholics to be preserved ultimately in a special archive building to be erected in Washington at the Catholic University of America. Prof. R. M. Johnston, of Harvard; Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of North Carolina; Dr. Buck, of Minnesota; and Dr. James Sullivan, of the New York Department of History, also spoke in this conference, partly by way of describing the earnest and intelligent efforts which historical departments and societies and the historical sections of State councils of defence have made to insure the preservation of material on the war, partly upon the pressing need, which war conditions have emphasized, for better housing of the national archives at Washington. The conference was presided over by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library; chairman of the Public Archives Commission.¹

The conference of teachers of history, presided over by Dean Marshall S. Brown, of New York University, attracted an exceptionally large attendance, especially of teachers in secondary schools. It will be remembered that the association two years ago appointed a committee of 13 to consider what progress could be made toward framing for American schools a more ideal program in history, a course which, while defining more closely the fields of history recommended by the committee of seven, should also bring about a better coordination between the elementary and the secondary schools. This conference was planned to help forward these deliberations, and the principal paper was by Prof. Henry Johnson, of Teachers College, Columbia University, chairman hitherto of that committee on history in schools. Prof. Johnson's paper, on the "School course in history, some precedents and a possible next step," a paper expressed with his usual wisdom and felicity, and the valuable remarks of the gentlemen who followed him in the discussion of the theme, Prof. Rolla M. Tryon, of the University of Chicago; Dr. Arthur M. Wolfson, of the New York High School of Commerce; Prof. Henry E. Bourne, of the Western Reserve University; and Prof. Herbert D. Foster, of Dartmouth University; have been printed at length in another place.² It must suffice here to say that Prof. Johnson warned against the non-historical tendency to

¹ Complete proceedings of the conference are printed below in the present volume.

² *History Teacher's Magazine*, February, 1918, pp. 74-83, pages of great value and importance. See also below in this present volume.

teach too much "current events," continually shifting the emphasis and interpretation of history to suit the interests of the hour, and against the temptation, active in such times as these, to turn the whole force of historical teaching to the stimulation of national patriotism—the very process which in Germany, glorifying one nation alone, has resulted in intellectual isolation from the civilization of the rest of the world. Advocating a connected program of history for the whole school course, he especially commended as a model the French course of 1902, which endeavored to promote without bias a sympathetic understanding of the progress of humanity, and therefore attained a point of view universal and stable.

Among the formal papers read at the meetings, the place of first consideration belongs to the bright and engaging presidential address delivered by Mr. Ford, facile princeps among American historical editors of whatever period, on the "Editorial function in American history."¹ Such summaries as we are able to give of the other papers may best be arranged in something approaching a chronological or systematic order, without regard to the order in which these papers appeared in the program.

A group of papers in the session on ancient history discussed, in outline and suggestively, the problems of ancient imperialism, Prof. Albert T. Olmstead, of the University of Illinois, presenting a paper on "Oriental imperialism; Prof. William S. Ferguson, of Harvard, one on "Greek imperialism;" while a third, prepared by the late Prof. George W. Botsford of Columbia University, dealt with "Roman imperialism."²

In the same session, Prof. Clifford H. Moore, of Harvard University, discussing the "Decay of nationalism under the Roman Empire," showed how the earlier patriotism of antiquity, based on the city state in the more advanced, on the tribe in the less advanced populations, never developed into a nationalism attached to a large area, before Roman conquest substituted provincial organization with its highly centralized form of government, broke up old relations and destroyed many of the intercity or intertribal ties. That a Roman nationalism developed under the Empire is difficult to maintain. The racial composition of the Empire, its vast extent, the early loss of political power under the principate, the individualism engendered by social and economic conditions and by philosophy and oriental religions, caused Roman national spirit in reality to decline.³

Aspects of cosmopolitan religion under the Empire were treated by Prof. A. L. Frothingham of Princeton, in a paper on the "Cos-

¹ American Historical Review, XXIII, 273-286; also below in present volume.

² These three papers are printed in the American Historical Review for July, 1918.

³ Printed in the Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1918.

mopolitan religion of Tarsus and the origin of Mithra." He exhibited Tarsus as a typical exponent of religious cosmopolitanism, affected, by reason of its position and history, by Hittite and Anatolian ideas, by those of the Assyrians and the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. One part of his paper essayed to show how influences from all these sources are reflected in the symbolism of the lion slaying the bull, a special device of Tarsus, and in its mythological interpretations. Another argued for the origin of Mithra in the Babylonian myth of the hero Gilgamesh. Among the comments made upon the papers in this session, especially valuable were those of Prof. Frank F. Abbott, of Princeton, on the causes which broke down the individuality of the city states and brought about the decline of civic patriotism under the Roman Empire.

Prof. Joseph C. Ayer, jr., of the Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia, presented a paper on the "Church councils of the Anglo-Saxons." His conclusions were: (1) That the provincial conciliar system of the church was as ineffectual and as irregular at this period in England as elsewhere: (2) that with the exception of the two provincial synods of Hertford and Hatfield under Archbishop Theodore, there were no Anglo-Saxon councils or synods representing the entire church in England; (3) that there is no evidence, by way of church councils, of any such unity of church organization as could do much to advance the political unity of the nations in England; (4) that the earliest synods of Theodore and probably the strictly provincial synods for some time, were called by the archbishop on his own authority, but that later it was on the king's authority that all councils, secular and ecclesiastical, were called, the church councils rapidly becoming assimilated with the witenagemot; (5) that the witenagemot took the place of the provincial synod for all ecclesiastical purposes at an early day, possibly at about 800 A. D.¹

In the session devoted to medieval church history, in which this paper was read, later church councils had an important place. The presidential address which Prof. David S. Schaff, of the Western Theological Seminary at Pittsburgh, delivered before the American Society of Church History in this session was devoted to the "Council of Constance, its fame and its failure," setting forth its personal aspects, the questions which it settled, and those which it failed to settle—the healing of the papal schism, the failure to reform the church, or to fix the final seat of authority in ecumenical councils.

Dr. Harold J. Laski, of Harvard, in a paper on the "Conciliar Movement," dealt with that movement in its bearings upon fundamental political questions, still urgent: The nature of political au-

¹ Printed in Papers of the American Society of Church History.

thority, the question of sovereignty, the relation between the State and other organizations, the problems connected with representative government, and the problems of internationalism. The important question throughout the movement was that of constitutionalism against autocracy. The papacy refused reform. The conciliar writers believed that only a constitutional government could end the evil. They were led to see that the church is not *sui generis* but has the nature of other associations of men. The federal idea to which they came was overthrown by the conception of a sovereignty which because of its great purposes could know no limits, which refuses to admit a divided allegiance. The failure of the attempt gave birth to ultramontaniam, the parent of divine right and state absolutism. But even in failure, the idea that the consent of the governed is a fundamental element in government, the idea that there are rights so sacred that they must not be invaded survived to bear fruit later. The temporary failure was due to the secular forces of the time, demanding centralization.

In the last of the papers of ecclesiastical history, a paper on the "Actual achievements of the Reformation," Dr. Presserved Smith interpreted the Reformation as a culmination of seven revolutionary processes, maturing throughout the latter Middle Ages: A revolt of the national state against the ecclesiastical world state and of Teutonism against Latin culture; the prevalence of the ideals of the bourgeoisie over those of the privileged orders; the change from a pessimistic, other-worldly order, to one optimistic and secular; the growth of individualism; the popularization of knowledge; the triumph of monotheism or monism; and the shift from a sacramental, hierarchical supernaturalism to an unconditioned, unmediated, disinterested, transcendental morality.

The special session for English medieval history was devoted to four papers on the history of English medieval taxations: By Prof. William E. Lunt, of Haverford College, on "Early assessment for papal taxation of English clerical incomes;" by Dr. Sydney K. Mitchell, of Yale University, on the "Taxation of the personal property of laymen down to 1272;" by Dr. Norman S. B. Gras, of Clark University, on the "English customs revenue to 1275;" and by Prof. James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, on the "Assessment of lay subsidies, 1290-1332."¹

Mr. Lunt described the valuations made in 1201, 1217, and 1229, and discussed the assessments probably used for the taxes ordered in 1238, 1239, 1245, 1246, 1247, and 1252. Tentatively, he concluded that the three valuations named were apparently the only assessments of English clerical incomes made for papal taxation pre-

¹ All but the second of these papers, that by Dr. Mitchell, are printed below in the present volume.

vious to 1254, and that they probably included only the spiritualities and did not extend to the temporalities. The last of the three, that of 1229, was the most thorough, furnished the precedents for the methods followed in later valuations, and was probably used for the assessment of all papal taxes imposed upon the income of the English papal clergy between 1229 and 1254.

Mr. Mitchell's paper dealt with the machinery created for the new taxation of the personal property of laymen. A special exchequer, modeled after that of Westminster but independent of it, was generally established to deal with the work of each county collector. This system was followed until the time of Edward I, when the work was assigned to the exchequer at Westminster and the wardrobe. In the endeavors after proper valuation, many experiments were made in the local machinery, adaptations and generalizations of devices already in use in the judicial organization of the kingdom, but one feature was constant, a body of royal commissioners, appointed in each county, who had general charge of the assessment and collection of the tax.

In respect to the early history of the English customs revenue, Dr. Gras controverted the current view that the origin of the national customs had lain in a gradual development of the royal right of seizure of goods from merchants, systematized and reduced to money payments. On the contrary he believed the national system to have developed from certain definite customs already existing, through a series of clearly defined actions, in each case an episode in the struggle between localism and nationalism. Among the early taxes on trade he instanced lastage and scavage as having characteristics of national taxes, and two later taxes on wine, cornage and prisage. The decrees or assizes on which these taxes were founded have been lost, but they were all national in being based on foreign trade, imposed on alien and denizen, and apparently imposed originally by the sovereign.

Prof. Willard's paper was an account of the assessment of taxes on personal property in England from 1290 to 1332. Between these two dates the system provided for the appointment in each county of groups of commissioners called taxers, in whose instructions the fundamental principle was that the personal property of each individual was to be valued by men of his neighborhood. Subtaxers reported their data to the chief taxers, who, after general survey, summarized the information in two large rolls for the county, which were brought to the exchequer. There is some uncertainty as to the kinds of personal property which were valued, and as to whether assessments were made from the true value, but apparently there was a good deal of conventional valuation.

In a paper entitled "The association,"¹ Dr. J. Franklin Jameson discussed the development, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of that institution or mode of organization of which the association of the Continental Congress, Philadelphia, 1774, is a familiar example—a signed agreement to continue in a given course of political action. He traced its English history from the association for the protection of Queen Elizabeth, in 1584, to instances of loyal association of a similar sort under the Hanoverian kings, discussed the Scottish model on which the association of 1584 might have been founded, but showed evidences that its model was rather the Dutch compromise of 1566, which in turn most probably had its model in the French Catholic leagues of 1560 and the years immediately following.

The most generally interesting of all the sessions was doubtless that one which was devoted to a topic uppermost at that time in most minds, recent Russian history.²

In this session, Prof. Alexander Petrunkevitch, of Yale University, described in an illuminating manner the rôle of the intellectuals in the liberating movement in Russia. The real leaders of all Russian parties are intellectuals, since they alone have intelligence to formulate the desires and dreams of the workers. The party programs express the opinions of the leaders, not of the masses; the wording of them is in the language of educated Russia. He described the intellectual position of each of the Russian political parties and its relations to the revolution, and explained why no one of them was able to control the forces which the revolution had unloosed.

Prof. Samuel N. Harper, of Chicago, speaking on "Forces behind the Russian revolution of March, 1917," dwelt chiefly upon two distinct forces, operating through two sets of institutions—political liberalism, which took the initiative, acting through already existing institutions of a somewhat popular character, especially the Duma, and radicalism of a socialistic character, claiming to represent "revolutionary democracy" as opposed to the bourgeoisie, and acting through strictly revolutionary organizations, such as the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. The interaction of these forces, the failure of efforts toward coalition, and the chaos resulting from the triumph of revolutionary democracy, were described.

Next followed a vivid account of the "First week of the revolution of March, 1917," by an eyewitness, Prof. Frank A. Golder, of Washington State College. Adverting to the prevalence, before the war, of discontent with the Government, and the frequent talk, in all circles, of the revolution that would follow soon after the war, he

¹ Printed below in the present volume.

² The four papers read at this session have been published by the Harvard University Press in a volume: *The Russian Revolution and the Jugo-Slavs*.

declared the present revolution to have been precipitated by the conduct of the Minister of the Interior. Fearing lest the revolutionary spirit should grow too powerful for the Government to contend with, he instigated an uprising in order to suppress it seasonably and prevent worse outbreaks in the future, and so brought on a revolution which he was unable to control.

Finally, in a comprehensive paper on the "Jugo-Slav movement," Prof. Robert J. Kerner, of the University of Missouri, traced the history of the Jugo-Slavs (Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes) through an evolution of 12 centuries, from primeval unity, through a political, economic, and social decomposition of a most bewildering character, to national unity and the present demand for political amalgamation.

We may bridge the transition from papers of European history to papers of American history by mention of that on the "Functions of an historical section of a general staff,"¹ read in a section devoted to military history, by Lieut. Col. Paul Azan, of the French Army. The topic gains additional interest for American historical scholars from the recent action of the War Department in creating an historical section in the general staff of the United States Army. Col. Azan described the archives of the French ministry of war, the organization of the historical section of the general staff, its work, and its relations to the Centre des Hautes Études Militaires and the École Supérieure de Guerre in developing the theory of war.

First among the contributions to American history mention should be made of the notable paper by Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, on the "Background of American Federalism."² Its purpose was to show, first, that the essential qualities of American federal organization were largely produced by the practices of the old British Empire as it existed before 1764, and, secondly, that the discussions of the period from that time to 1787, and, more particularly, those of the 10 years preceding 1776, gathered very largely around the problem of imperial organization, and, in that field, around the problem of recognizing federalism as a principle, or of discerning the nature of federal organization, in which so-called powers of government are distinguished one from another. The insistence of the colonists was on the maintenance of the old, uncentralized empire; the contention of the parliamentarians was that a denial of a single power to the Parliament was a denial that it was possessed of any power whatsoever. The result of the actual practices of the old empire, of the argument, of the war, and of the attempted solution in the Articles of Confederation, was the emergence of the federal empire of the United States.

¹ Printed in the *Military Historian and Economist*, April, 1918.

² Printed in the *American Political Science Review* for May, 1918.

The other papers relating to the first 50 years of United States history were those read in joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. That of Prof. James A. James, of Northwestern University, entitled "To what extent was George Rogers Clark in control of the Northwest at the close of the Revolution?"¹ took up that question as an essential means for determining the importance of Clark's conquests. The author related the history of Clark's designs and movements against Detroit, concluding with the results of his expeditions against the Shawnee strongholds in November, 1782, which in both British and Indian view laid Detroit open to attack.

The essay by Prof. Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, on the "Spanish conspiracy in Tennessee," related to the events which ensued in the Tennessee region upon the extinction of the state of Franklin. The conspiracy was that whereby Gardoqui intrigued with John Sevier to secure the allegiance of the latter and his associates to Spain. An important letter of Sevier, from the Archives of the Indies, promising action of this nature, was read.²

In the same session, the "Mission of Gen. George Matthews on the Florida frontier" was described by Prof. Isaac J. Cox, of the University of Cincinnati, who related Matthews's endeavors in 1810, as secret agent, to persuade Folch to surrender West Florida, his renewal of the attempt in the following year, his unauthorized instigation of rebellion in East Florida, his seizure of Fernandina, and the considerations which forced Madison to disavow his actions.

A paper by Prof. Eugene C. Barker, of the University of Texas, on "Stephen F. Austin,"³ was devoted to a discussion of Austin's personality, as revealed in his work. His power as a leader was deduced from the control he exercised over the rapidly increasing population of his settlement throughout the whole period from 1821 to 1836, his skill as a diplomat from his ability to hold the confidence of Mexican statesmen and allay their fears of disloyalty on the part of the colonists despite the persistent efforts of the United States to buy Texas.

In a paper of much importance and value, Prof. Frederick J. Turner, of Harvard University, set forth the "Significance of the North-Central States in the middle of the nineteenth century." The points mainly dwelt upon were the relations of geography and population, the interplay and mixture of varied stocks, the influence of mid-western agriculture, especially of wheat farming, on both west

¹ Printed below in the present volume.

² Mr. Henderson's article appears in the April number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*.

³ Printed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June, 1913.

and east, the development of business, the application of eastern capital to banking, transportation, and commerce, the political developments and their relation to the processes of settlement and of economic growth, the formation of a new democratic society in this region, and the influence of the children of the pioneers in a wide variety of cultural fields.

Three papers dealt with the American war period of 50 years ago. Prof. Louis B. Schmidt, of Iowa State College, spoke on the "Influence of wheat and cotton on Anglo-American relations during the Civil War."¹ He developed in some detail Great Britain's dependence on American wheat and cotton. While the blockade withheld southern cotton from shipment to England, northern wheat supplied the deficit which other nations were unable to fill, and, since England had a series of crop failures in 1860, 1861, and 1862, her dependence on American wheat was most acute when the cotton famine was at its height, and may well be regarded as having contributed the decisive influence, overbalancing that of cotton, in keeping the British Government from recognition of the Confederacy.

Secondly, Dr. Victor S. Clark, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in "Notes on American manufactures during the Civil War,"² explained why, though manufacturing in the South was disastrously interrupted, manufacturing at the North prospered during the period of warfare, partly because it had been brought to a stage where the plants were easily transformed into war factories, partly because of wider and more open markets. A surplus of manufactures above both civil and military needs of the Nation was produced, exports to Europe were continued, and the general effect of the war was to accelerate manufacturing and to give it an impetus that was permanent until the panic of 1873.

The third of these papers was one by Prof. Carl R. Fish, of Wisconsin, on the "Restoration of the southern railroads after the Civil War." He described the system under which, beginning in the spring of 1865, repairs and restoration proceeded under military authority. The reconstruction of these roads by the engineering corps of the army, on financial credit advanced through the War Department, solved the immediate transportation problem of the South, as it could have been solved in no other way. Considering the temper of the North toward the South and the American individualist theories of the period, the process which ended in the summer of 1866 was little short of a miracle.

In one of the evening sessions a large audience derived much entertainment, as well as much profit, from a discourse on "A genera-

¹ Printed in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July, 1918.

² Printed in the *Military Historian and Economist*, April, 1918.

tion of American historiography," by Prof. William A. Dunning, of Columbia University, in which the progress of historical writing since the foundation of the American Historical Association in 1884 was set forth, with a light touch and with many humorous turns of phrase, but none the less with much sagacity and insight. Characterizing briefly the work of recent historians, Schouler, H. H. Bancroft, McMaster, Fiske, Henry Adams, Rhodes, Roosevelt, and others, he also exhibited the new factors and features of this latest period—the development of the historical monograph, of the doctoral dissertation, of the cooperative history, and the tendency toward economic and impersonal history.¹

In the same session, Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University, gave a description, both interesting and instructive, of the "Psychology of a constitutional convention," based on his recent experiences as a member of the constitutional convention of Massachusetts.

Students of Latin-American history, gathered in a special conference, had an opportunity of hearing five papers, most of which are likely to be printed later in the new journal of that specialty.²⁰ An important and original paper, bridging the history of Spain and of Spanish America, was that in which Dr. Charles H. Cunningham, of the University of Texas, exhibited the "Institutional background of Latin-American history," by showing how the institutions which Spain set up for the administration of her colonial empire were readily derived by adaptation from institutions which she had already been called upon to develop. The progress of southward conquest by the Spanish kingdoms in the Middle Ages required them to originate a system of royal and municipal officials, executive and judicial—*adelantados*, *alcaldes*, *corregidores*, *audiencias*, and councils—which were obvious models for viceroys and provisional governors, municipal organizations, and *audiencias* in the New World.

Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of California, defined with precision, but in a manner impossible to summarize, the history of the "Delimitation of political jurisdictions in Spanish North America," established prior to 1535, indicating the successive changes in those jurisdictions, and sketching the political readjustments resulting from those changes.²

The history of Portuguese America received equal attention with that of Spanish America. Prof. William R. Manning, of the University of Texas, narrated the story of an "Early diplomatic controversy between the United States and Brazil," namely that which Condé Raguet, American *chargé d'affaires* in Brazil from

¹ Printed below in the present volume.

² The papers of Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Hackett appear in the February, 1918, number of the *Hispanic-American Historical Review*; those by Profs. Manning and Martin in the May, 1918, number of the same journal.

1824 to 1827, waged with the Brazilian authorities over the blockade maintained by Brazil before Argentine ports, during the war over the question of Uruguay. Prof. Percy A. Martin, of Leland Stanford University, showed the "Influence of the United States on the opening of the Amazon to the world's commerce," beginning with the unsuccessful efforts made in 1850 and with Lieut. M. F. Maury's somewhat truculent memorial of 1853, and described the effects of those efforts and of the work of Tavares Bastos who finally persuaded the Emperor Don Pedro II, in 1866, to sign the imperial decree opening the Brazilian portion of the Amazon to international commerce. Mr. Reginald Orcutt, of Washington, ended the session with a "Review of the history of German colonization in Brazil, from 1827 to 1914."

For those whose interest lies in the field of Far Eastern history, there was a profitable session on the last day of the convention, in which four papers, concerning the recent history of China and Japan and the relations of America to them, were read by Profs. F. W. Williams, of Yale University; Kenneth S. Latourette, of Denison University; W. W. McLaren, of Williams College; and the Rev. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, of New York, respectively. The first spoke of the "Mid-Victorian attitude of foreigners in China." He described the ignorance of social and material conditions in the Chinese Empire on the part of the Europeans who gathered in the five ports thrown open to maritime commerce in 1842 by the opium war, the economic and other sources of irritation, and the effects of the policy which Lord Palmerston followed in Europe in dealing with other powers, and of the extension of that policy to China, in the form of truculence and high-handed imposition, until, after another war, more conciliatory and educational methods of intercourse were proposed by Anson Burlingame, American minister to China, and inaugurator of the first plan for an open-door policy.

Mr. Latourette reviewed in detail the whole development of "American scholarship in Chinese history," lamenting the scantiness of American contributions to that study, in contrast to the excellent work of European scholars, especially French and English, and expressing the earnest desire, which indeed all should share, that the subject should attract more attention in this country. Mr. McLaren's topic was "Twenty years of party politics in Japan, 1897-1917," Dr. Gulick's, the "History of naturalization legislation in the United States, with special reference to Chinese and Japanese immigration," his main historical thesis being that it is only since 1907 that the act of 1875 has been uniformly interpreted by the courts as excluding Japanese from naturalization.

In the business meeting of the association, which took place on the last afternoon of the sessions, the prevailing note was of adjustment

to pecuniary limitations caused by the war. The many subscriptions which are called for from the class of persons chiefly represented in the association have caused an unusual number of members to resign from it or to omit to pay their annual dues, and a serious diminution of revenue is already visible, while the efforts to increase endowment, hopefully undertaken at the beginning of 1917, have been nearly discontinued since the entrance of the United States into the war. The feeling has been that success was not to be expected in times so unpropitious. Yet it is impossible to remain permanently content with anything short of a large increase in the association's scientific activities, for it is impossible not to feel with great earnestness the increased responsibility of America for maintaining the apparatus of the world's civilization. In every European country the sources from which scientific undertakings have been sustained will have been dried up or almost fatally diminished by the war. A recent German educational article sets forth, in plaintive accents, with many statistics, and with much truth, that "our superiority, anchored in the popular education of Germany and in the standard of our culture," will be impaired, that Germany's intellectual development "would be reduced to a wretched condition if Germany were to lose this war, or even if it were to be obliged to conclude a peace of renunciation." In any probable event of the war, America will emerge from it less damaged than any other combatant. When this shattered world resumes with pathetic courage the work of advancing civilization, it were shameful for America not to assume the chief part, if not in the labors of scholarship themselves, at any rate in their sustainment. Hers should be, in all departments of knowledge, the chief funds for the endowment of research.

At the moment, however, the American Historical Association had nothing before it but to pursue a prudent course. The report of the secretary, Mr. Leland, showed an actual membership of 2,654, less by 85 than was reported a year before. That of the treasurer, Dr. Bowen, indicated net receipts, for the year, of \$8,659, net expenditures of \$9,454, a deficit of \$795. The assets were reported as \$28,516. They would have been less than those of the year preceding by the amount of the deficit mentioned, and by a decline of \$200 in the value of certain securities, but these losses had been more than counterbalanced by the payments made into the general endowment fund, for which it was reported that subscriptions amounting to \$3,365 had been made, and \$1,490 had been paid in.

The secretary of the council, Prof. Greene, reported its transactions, as required by the constitution, and a number of recommendations, all of which were adopted by the association. Dr. Bowen, who had been the treasurer of the association throughout the whole 33

years of its existence, having retired from that office, the secretary of the council reported resolutions by which that body endeavored to express its sense of the society's indebtedness to Dr. Bowen for this long period of unselfish and efficient labor, and the association with much warmth of feeling passed resolutions of similar tenor. The Secretary of the council also reported on the work of various committees, and also on the budget and the necessary omission of appropriations to several of these committees. Mr. Shearer reported the results of the conference of historical societies, Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, informally, on the latest meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch. Prof. Edward P. Cheyney, chairman of the board of editors of the *Review*, reported on its transactions and on the policy which it has adopted during war time, and the association took the final steps in adjusting the financial relations between the board and the association. The committee on the Adams prize, unable to report at the time of the business meeting, has since reported an award of the prize to Lieut. F. L. Nussbaum, of the National Army, for an essay entitled "G. J. A. Ducher: An Essay in the Political History of Mercantilism during the French Revolution."

Upon recommendation by the council, the conditions of award of the two prizes were so modified as to provide that the field of the Winsor prize shall be American history, that of the Adams prize the history of the Eastern Hemisphere; that printed monographs as well as manuscript may be submitted and considered; and that a manuscript to which a prize has been awarded may be printed in the annual reports, publication in separate volumes being discontinued after the present year.

The report of the committee on nominations was presented by its chairman, Prof. Frank M. Anderson, of Dartmouth College. In accordance with its recommendations, Mr. William R. Thayer, first vice president of the association, was elected president, Prof. Edward Channing first vice president, Mr. J. J. Jusserand, ambassador of France, second vice president. Mr. Waldo G. Leland, Prof. Evarts B. Greene, and Mr. A. Howard Clark were reelected to their respective offices of secretary, secretary of the council, and curator. Mr. Charles Moore, of Detroit, president of the United States Fine Arts Commission, was elected treasurer. The new members chosen to the council were Profs. William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, Walter L. Fleming, of Vanderbilt University, and William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania. The full list of officers, of members of the council, and of committees appears on a later page. The council elected Prof. Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard, a member of the board of editors of the *American Historical Review* for the period of six years from the adjournment of the meeting, in succession to Prof. Ephraim Emerton, whose term then expired.

PROGRAM OF THE THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN PHILADEL-
PHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, DECEMBER 27-29, 1917.

Wednesday, December 26.

4 p. m.: Council meeting. Green room, Bellevue-Stratford.

Thursday, December 27.

10.30 a. m.: General session—American history. Clover room, Bellevue-Stratford. "The Association," J. Franklin Jameson, Washington, D. C. "The significance of the North Central States in the middle of the nineteenth century," Frederick J. Turner, Harvard University. "Influence of wheat and cotton on Anglo-American relations during the Civil War, Louis B. Schmidt, Iowa State College. "Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1867-1884," Herbert E. Bolton, University of California.

1 p. m.: Joint subscription luncheon by the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the Political Science Association. Ball room, Bellevue-Stratford. Edgar F. Smith, provost, University of Pennsylvania, presiding. Address: "A Government experiment in war publicity," Guy Stanton Ford, of committee on public information.

2.30 p. m.: Ancient history. Joint session with the American Archaeological Institute and the American Philological Society. Engineering Building, University of Pennsylvania. Chairman, James H. Breasted, University of Chicago. "The cosmopolitanism of the religion of Tarsus and the origin of Mithra," A. L. Frothingham, Princeton University. Discussion opened by Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University. "Oriental imperialism," A. T. Olmstead, University of Illinois. Discussion opened by Morris Jastrow, jr., University of Pennsylvania. "Greek imperialism," W. S. Ferguson, Harvard University. Discussion opened by William N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania. "Roman imperialism," paper prepared by the late G. W. Botsford, Columbia University. Discussion opened by S. B. Platner, Western Reserve University. "The decay of nationalism under the Roman Empire," Clifford Moore, Harvard University. Discussion opened by F. F. Abbott, Princeton University.

3.00 p. m.: Conference of Archivists. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street. Chairman—Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York Public Library. Subject: "The preservation and collection of war records." "The archives of the war," Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C. "The archives of the United States Food Administration as historical sources," Everett S. Brown, U. S. Food Administration, Washington. "The collection of Catholic war records," Rev. Peter Guilday, Catholic University of America. Discussion: R. M. Johnston, Harvard University; R. D. W. Connor, North Carolina Historical Commission; Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois; Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society; James Sullivan, New York State historian; G. N. Fuller, Michigan Historical Commission, and others.

4.00 p. m.: Visit to old Philadelphia and to the American Philosophical Society.

6.30 p. m.: Subscription dinner for those interested in military history and documents. Kugler's restaurant, 1412 Chestnut Street. Topic for discussion: "The historian and the war."

8.30 p. m.: General session—Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Chairman—Charlemagne Tower. Presidential address: "The editorial function in American history," Worthington C. Ford.

9.30 p. m.: Reception and supper tendered by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to the members of the American Historical Association.

Friday, December 28

Sessions at the University of Pennsylvania, Thirty-fourth Street and Woodland Avenue.

10.00 a. m.: Medieval church history. Joint session with the American Society of Church History. Room 205, College Hall. Chairman—David S. Schaff, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa. Presidential address of the American Society of Church History: "The Council of Constance: Its fame and its failure," David S. Schaff. "The church councils of the Anglo-Saxons," J. Cullen Ayer, jr., Philadelphia Divinity School. "The conciliar movement," Harold J. Laski, Harvard University. "The actual achievements of the Reformation," Preserved Smith, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

10.00 a. m.: American history. Room 200, College Hall. Joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Chairman—St. George L. Sioussat, president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. "To what extent was George Rogers Clark in possession of the Northwest at the close of the revolution?" James A. James, Northwestern University. "The Spanish conspiracy in Tennessee," Archibald Henderson, University of North Carolina. "The mission of Gen. George Matthews on the Florida frontier," Isaac J. Cox, University of Cincinnati; "Stephen F. Austin," Eugene C. Barker, University of Texas. "Populism in Louisiana in the nineties," M. J. White, Tulane University.

10 a. m.: Military history and war economics. Houston Hall. Chairman—Robert M. Johnston, Harvard University. "Rôle de la Section Historique dans un Etat-Major Général," Lieut. Col. Paul Azan, of the French Army. "Notes on American Manufactures during the Civil War," Victor S. Clark, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C. "The reconstruction of the Southern railroads," Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin. "The work of the commercial economy board," E. F. Gay, Harvard University.

1 p. m.: Luncheon tendered to members of all associations by the University of Pennsylvania. Weightman Hall.

2.30 p. m.: Recent Russian history. Houston Hall. Chairman—Worthington C. Ford. "The Rôle of the Intellectuals in the Liberating Movement in Russia," Alexander Petrunkevitch, Yale University. "Factors in the March Revolution of 1917," Samuel N. Harper, University of Chicago. "The first week of the revolution of March, 1917," F. A. Golder, Washington State College. "The Jugo-Slav movement," Robert J. Kerner, University of Missouri.

3 p. m.: Conference on English medieval history: English medieval taxation. Room 213, College Hall. Chairman—Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University. "Early assessment for papal taxation of English clerical incomes," William E. Lunt, Haverford College. "The taxes on the personal property of laymen to 1272," Sydney K. Mitchell, Yale University. "The English customs revenues up to 1275," Norman S. B. Gras, Clark University. "The Assessment of lay subsidies, 1290-1332," James F. Willard, University of Colorado.

4.30 p. m.: Visit to the collections of the University museum.

6-8 p. m.: Supper and smoker tendered by the University of Pennsylvania to the members attending the meetings of the various associations. Weightman Hall.

8.15 p. m.: Joint session with American political science association. Auditorium, University Museum. Chairman—Josiah H. Penniman, vice provost, University of Pennsylvania. "A generation of American historiography," William A. Dunning, Columbia University. "The background of American federalism," Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago. "The psychology of a constitutional convention," Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University.

Saturday, December 29.

10 a. m.: Conference of historical societies—Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Chairman—Thomas Lynch Montgomery, State Librarian of Pennsylvania. Secretary—Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N. Y. Business session; election of officers and committees. "The relation of the hereditary patriotic societies and the historical societies, with especial reference to cooperation in publication," Norris S. Barratt, judge of the court of common pleas, Philadelphia. Discussion by William Libbey, Princeton University. Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society. John W. Jordan, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. L. Bradford Prince, Historical Society of New Mexico. "The collection of local war material by historical societies." Discussion by Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society. Harlow Lindley, Indiana Historical Commission. Robert D. W. Connor, North Carolina Historical Commission. G. N. Fuller, Michigan Historical Commission.

10 a. m.: Conference of teachers of history. Joint session with the association of history teachers of the Middle States and Maryland. Clover room, Bellevue-Stratford. Chairman—Marshall S. Brown, New York University. "The school course in history: Some precedents and a possible next step." Henry Johnson, Teachers' College, Columbia University. Discussion by Herbert D. Foster, Dartmouth College. Lida Lee Tall, Baltimore, Md. Arthur M. Wolfson, DeWitt Clinton High School, New York City. Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University. Oscar H. Williams, Indiana State Department of Education. R. M. Tryon, University of Chicago. A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota.

10 a. m.: Conference on far eastern history. Red room, Bellevue-Stratford. Chairman—Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania. "The mid-Victorian attitude of foreigners in China," F. W. Williams, Yale University. "American scholarship in Chinese history," K. S. Latourette, Denison University. "Twenty years of party politics in Japan, 1897-1917," W. W. McLaren, Williams College. "The history of naturalization legislation in the United States, with special reference to Chinese and Japanese immigration," Sydney L. Gulick, New York City. Discussion opened by Hon. John C. Ferguson.

10 a. m.: Conference on Latin-American history. Green Room, Bellevue-Stratford. Chairman—Julius M. Klein, Washington, D. C. "The delimitation of political jurisdictions in Spanish North America to 1535," Chas. W. Hackett, University of California. "The institutional background of Latin-American history," Chas. H. Cunningham, University of Texas. "An early diplomatic controversy between the United States and Brazil," William R. Manning, University of Texas. "The influence of the United States on the opening of the Amazon to the world's commerce," Percy A. Martin, Leland Stanford University. "A review of colonization in Brazil with especial reference to the German migration, 1827-1914," Reginald Orcutt, Washington, D. C.

1 p. m.: Subscription luncheon. Junior room, Bellevue-Stratford. Dana C. Munro, Princeton University, presiding. "The war and the teaching of history."

2.30 p. m.: Annual business meeting. Bellevue-Stratford. Reports of officers and committees. Election of officers.

6 p. m.: Subscription dinner conference for members interested in far eastern history. Franklin Inn Club, Camac and St. James Streets. Subscription dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Kugler's Restaurant, 1412 Chestnut Street.

8.15 p. m.: Joint session with the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Society.

Gold room, Adelphia Hotel, Chestnut Street below Thirteenth Street. Chairman—Subject: "International federation." "The British commonwealth of nations," Hon. R. H. Brand, deputy vice chairman of the British War Mission. "Pan-German use of history," Wallace Notestein, University of Minnesota. "Economic alliances," Edward P. Costigan, United States Tariff Commission.

SUPPLEMENTARY ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Thursday.

1. Louis Aubert, of the French War Commission, will speak at the luncheon on Thursday on "French historians and the war."

2. A reception for the women members of the association will be tendered by the College Club Thursday from 4 to 6.

Friday.

3. The bureau of registration will also be open at the University of Pennsylvania on Friday in Houston Hall.

4. The session on medieval history on Friday afternoon at 8 o'clock will be held in the library of the late Henry C. Lea, 2004 Walnut Street.

5. François Monod, chief of the cabinet of the French War Commission, will speak at the session on Friday evening on "Reflections on the present and future duties of historians toward world democracy."

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD IN THE HOTEL BELLEVUE-STRATFORD, PHILADELPHIA, PA., DECEMBER 29, 1917.

The meeting was called to order at 2.45 p. m., ex-President William A. Dunning presiding.

The secretary of the association presented his annual report. The total membership of the association on December 19, 1917, was 2,654, a loss during the year of 85. Membership losses have been heaviest in New England, in the North Central States, and on the Pacific coast, while there have been slight gains in the South Atlantic, South Central, and West Central States. He reported that, in accordance with action by the council, the secretary of the council and the secretary of the association have been assigned the task of making a special study of the membership of the association with a view to determining the best methods for maintaining and increasing it. He reported the attendance at Philadelphia to be 379. With regard to publications of the association, the secretary reported that the general index to papers and annual reports from 1884 to 1914 was nearly through the press and would be distributed from the office of the Superintendent of Documents during the coming year; that the Annual Report for 1915, in one volume, had been printed and would be distributed from the office of the Superintendent of Documents within the next three months; that the Annual Report for 1916, in two volumes, was in press, as was also the prize essay for 1916, being Richard J. Purcell's "Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818." The secretary also reported that it has been impossible, for financial reasons, to publish the proposed quarterly bulletin. He reported that the association had been represented at the congress of history and bibliography, held at Montevideo during the last summer, by Dr. Charles Lyon Chandler; that in reply to an invitation from the Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil the council had decided to participate formally in the International Congress of History which is to be held at Rio Janeiro in September, 1922. He reported that 33 members had died during the

year, two of them being life members—Miss Mary Alice Keach and Mr. Robert Lee Traylor.

It was voted that the report of the secretary be received and placed on file.

The treasurer's report was read by the treasurer, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, and showed the financial condition of the association on December 19, 1917, to be as follows:

Net receipts.....	\$8, 679. 22
Net disbursements.....	9, 454. 51
Excess of disbursements.....	795. 29
Cash on hand.....	2, 424. 35
Other assets.....	26, 091. 87
Total assets.....	28, 516. 22
Increase in assets.....	494. 71

Dr. Bowen made a statement respecting the endowment fund showing that \$3,766 had already been subscribed, of which amount \$1,490 had been paid.

Dr. Bowen offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association approves of the action of the council to raise an endowment fund of \$22,000, of which \$3,365 has already been subscribed, so that the said \$22,000 added to the \$28,000 which the association already possesses will make our total endowment \$50,000; and would direct that a circular with a list of subscriptions inclosed be sent to the members of the association, so that any member, should he so desire, may make a subscription payable one-half July 1, 1918, and one-half payable January 1, 1919.

It was voted that the report of the treasurer be received and placed on file.

The resolution of Dr. Bowen having been laid before the meeting, was seconded by Mr. H. B. Learned. The vote being put, it was adopted.

Dr. Bowen then called attention to the fact that the finance committee estimated that there would be an excess of expenditures over receipts for 1918 of about \$600 and also that there had been an excess of expenditures over receipts during 1917 of \$795. He urged that these deficits should be made up by special subscriptions and stated that he had already secured pledges of about \$900.

The report of the audit committee, Messrs. J. M. Callahan and I. J. Cox, was read, stating that the report of the treasurer and a report thereon of the American Audit Co. had been examined and found to be in correct and satisfactory form.

The secretary of the council read for the information of the association the following resolution adopted by the council upon the occasion of the retirement of Dr. Clarence W. Bowen from the office of treasurer of the association:

Whereas Dr. Clarence W. Bowen has announced his intention not to accept a renomination for treasurer of the association.

Resolved, That the executive council has heard with deep regret Dr. Bowen's determination to retire from the service that he has so long and usefully performed. For 33 years he has guided the financial administration of the association and has guarded its treasury. In that long period the organization has prospered greatly and has widely extended its activities and influence. Dr. Bowen's unselfish and efficient labors have been a powerful factor in the accomplishment of those ends. Zeal and caution have been happily blended in his management of fiscal affairs and in his judgments of the general policy of the organization. The executive council will greatly miss his faithful exhortations to economy, as well as his sympathetic approval of progress. In his well-earned retirement he will be attended by the cordial gratitude and good wishes of all who understand what he has done for the cause of history and the welfare of the American Historical Association.

Mr. D. C. Munro offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the members of the American Historical Association learn with regret that Mr. Clarence W. Bowen insists upon refusing a reelection as treasurer. By his long and unselfish devotion he has placed every member

under a deep debt of gratitude. Through his careful management it has been possible for the association to carry on its manifold activities.

Resolved, therefore, That a vote of thanks be tendered Mr. Bowen and that these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the association.

The resolution was seconded and was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

The secretary of the council presented his annual report, in which he included a summary of the more important acts of the council during the past year and a brief survey of the activities of the committees and commissions of the association. He pointed out that the war had affected the work of the council and its committees in various ways. The reduced income from membership fees reported by the secretary and the treasurer had made it necessary to cut off the appropriations usually made to such important committees as the public archives commission, the committee on history in schools, and the committee on bibliography; and also to withdraw the subsidies hitherto given to the History Teacher's Magazine and to Writings on American History. The effect of this action was to leave the latter in a serious situation, which should appeal to the generosity of all who were interested in keeping up the apparatus of historical scholarship.

Members of certain committees, including one committee chairman, had withdrawn from the active service of the association in order to enter upon public service of various kinds related to the war. In several instances members had been able to make contributions to the national service of a kind definitely related to historical scholarship, as for example, in the Committee on Public Information and the National Board for Historical Service.

Having distinctly in view the present critical situation, the council reported two measures looking to a constructive treatment of certain larger problems. The two secretaries have been instructed to make a new and thorough investigation of the whole problem of maintaining and extending the membership of the association. Furthermore, a special council committee on policy has been constituted for the purpose of securing a fresh consideration of functions which might be regarded as properly devolving upon the American Historical Association as the chief organization of historical scholars in the United States.

It was voted that the report of the secretary of the council be received and placed on file.

The following resolution was offered by Prof. J. H. Breasted:

In view of the large educational, humanitarian, and missionary interests which American organizations have long maintained within the limits of the Ottoman Empire,

Resolved, That the American Historical Association empower its president to appoint a committee of three to urge upon the Government of the United States the importance of adequately safeguarding, during the course of any peace negotiations, the future rights and activities of American educational and scientific enterprises in the Ottoman Empire, having in mind especially:

General education for men and women; professional education, including medical schools and hospitals; training in agriculture, forestry, engineering, transportation and road making, economic geology and mining; geological and geographical explorations, scientific surveys, archaeological excavations, and the legitimate interests of American museums.

It is also recommended that a further function of this committee be to provide for the collection and presentation of all available information which would aid the representatives of the United States in securing the ends suggested in the above resolution.

Upon motion of the secretary of the council it was voted to refer this resolution to the executive council with power to take action relating thereto.

The report of the conference of historical societies was presented by Mr. A. H. Shearer, secretary of the conference. He stated that at the conference held in Philadelphia in connection with the present meeting it had been voted to request the president of the association to appoint a committee to report on

the subject of cooperation between historical societies with respect to publications.

The delegate of the Pacific coast branch not being present, Mr. H. E. Bolton spoke informally and unofficially on behalf of the branch, and reported that it had held a meeting on November 30 and December 1 which had been attended by a number of members of the association from the East.

The report of the committee on nominations presented the final report of that committee to the association in which the following nominations were made:

President—William R. Thayer.

First vice president—Edward Channing.

Second vice president—Jean Jules Jusserand.

Secretary—Waldo G. Leland.

Treasurer—Charles Moore.

Secretary of the council—Evarts B. Greene.

Curator—A. Howard Clark.

Members of the council—Henry E. Bourne, Samuel B. Harding, Lucy M. Salmon, George M. Wrong, Herbert E. Bolton, William E. Dodd, Walter L. Fleming, William E. Lingelbach.

Committee on nominations—Charles H. Ambler, Christopher B. Coleman, Carl R. Fish, J. G. de R. Hamilton, Victor H. Paltsits.

Nominations were called for from the floor and none offered. It was moved and voted without dissent that the secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the association for the candidates placed in nomination by the committee.

This was done and they were declared duly elected.

The report of the board of editors of the American Historical Review was presented by the chairman, Mr. E. P. Cheyney.

It was voted that the report be received and placed on file.

The chairman of the finance committee of the executive council, Mr. G. S. Ford, made a statement with regard to the financial condition of the association.

The budget of appropriations for 1918 and the estimate of receipts were presented by Mr. G. S. Ford, chairman of the finance committee of the council, as follows:

Appropriations for 1918.

Office of secretary and treasurer	\$2,000.00
Committee on nominations	75.00
Pacific coast branch	50.00
Program committee	150.00
Conference of historical societies	25.00
Committee on publications	1,000.00
Editorial services	150.00
Cumulative index	250.00
American historical review	5,000.00
Historical manuscripts commission	150.00
Winsor prize committee	200.00
London headquarters	150.00
Military history prize	250.00
Committee on bibliography of modern English history	125.00
Bills payable December 19, 1917	28.70

9,603.70

Estimated Income.

Annual dues	\$7,050.00
Life members' fees	100.00
Publications	400.00
Royalties	125.00
Investments	1,100.00
Gifts	100.00
Registration fees	150.00

9,025.00

It was moved and voted that the budget be adopted as presented.

On behalf of the committee on nominations, Mr. F. M. Anderson offered the following amendment to by-law 2:

Moved, that by-law No. 2 be amended as follows: In the second sentence change the words "1st of October" to "15th of September;" in the third sentence change the words "twenty days" to "one month;" insert the word "business" before the word "meeting," wherever it occurs in the by-law; in the fourth sentence change the words "five days" to "one day" and add at the end of the sentence the words "but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the committee on nominations shall have reported its nominations to the association as provided for in the present by-law."

It was moved by Mr. J. H. Latané to amend the amendment in such a way as to provide that returns of the informal ballot should be made directly to the committee on nominations. After discussion it was voted that the amendment to the amendment be laid upon the table.

The original motion was then put and carried and by-law 2 as amended was read by the secretary in the following form:

A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual business meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of officers of the association. At such convenient time prior to the 15th of September as it may determine it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual business meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least one month prior to the annual business meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual business meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by 20 or more members of the association at least one day before the annual business meeting, but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the committee shall have reported its nominations to the association as provided for in the present by-law. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

Upon recommendation by the executive council presented by the secretary of the council, the association passed the following votes with respect to the annual meeting of 1918:

Voted, that the next annual meeting be held in Minneapolis; provided, however, that if, in view of the emergency due to a state of war, there appears to the executive council to be sufficient reason for changing the place of meeting or for omitting the meeting altogether, the executive council be, and hereby is authorized to take such action and is directed to notify the association of its decision not later than September 1.

Voted, that if the annual meeting of 1918 is omitted the officers of the association shall continue in office until the next annual meeting of the association.

Voted, that, except in respect to the adoption of the annual budget, the secretary of the council be, and hereby is authorized to take the votes of the council by mail, when in the judgment of the president and the secretary, such a procedure is expedient.

On behalf of the executive council, the secretary of the council presented to the association the following rules governing competition for the Winsor and Adams prizes with the recommendation that they be adopted in place of the rules now in force:

For the purpose of encouraging historical research the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each prize of \$200: the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in the history of the

Eastern Hemisphere. The Winsor prize is offered in the even years (as heretofore), and the Adams prize in the odd years. Both prizes are designed to encourage writers who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Either prize shall be awarded for an excellent monograph or essay, printed or in manuscript, submitted to or selected by the committee of award. Monographs must be submitted on or before July 1, of the given year. In the case of a printed monograph the date of publication must fall within a period of two years prior to July 1. A monograph to which a prize has been awarded in manuscript may, if it is deemed in all respects available, be published in the Annual Report of the Association. Competition shall be limited to monographs written or published in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere.

In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression and logical arrangement. The successful monograph must reveal marked excellence of style. Its subject matter should afford a distinct contribution to knowledge of a sort beyond that having merely personal or local interest. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism. A manuscript—including text, notes, bibliography, appendixes, etc.—must not exceed 100,000 words if designed for publication in the Annual Report of the Association.

The Justin Winsor prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history. The phrase "American history" includes the history of the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history, as in the case of the Winsor prize.

It was moved that the rules as presented by the council be adopted.

The secretary of the association presented the following report from the committee on auditing the treasurer's report for 1916:

We have examined the statement of accounts by the treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen, and the report of the Audit Company of America relating thereto and find both accurate and satisfactory.

SIDNEY B. FAY
ALLEN JOHNSON.

DECEMBER 27, 1917.

The secretary of the council called the attention of the association to the committee assignments, lists of which had been prepared and distributed to those present.

The secretary of the association announced that the newly elected committee on nominations would, in accordance with the usual practice, organize itself by the election of a chairman.

It was moved by Miss Ruth Putnam and voted that the greetings of the association be sent to the former president, Mr. H. Morse Stephens.

The meeting adjourned at 5 p. m.

WALDO G. LELAND *Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Comparative statistics of membership have been placed in printed form before the members of the association; in these it appears that there has been a net loss of 85, which is less than the loss last year, but that there is a loss of 246 in paid-up memberships as compared with the gain of four a year ago. This loss it is to be hoped is more apparent than real, for since December 19, when these statistics were compiled, many membership dues that were in arrears have been paid.

It is but natural, however, in these times of war to expect a certain decrease in our membership and it is encouraging, therefore, to note that the number of new members is not far behind that of last year.

The regional losses have been heaviest in New England, the North Central States, and on the Pacific coast; while there have been slight gains in the South Atlantic, South Central, and West Central States, gains which have been due mainly to the persistent activities of some half dozen members who interested themselves in endeavoring to increase the membership of the association.

It is proposed that during the coming year a careful study of the membership of the association, with especial attention to the problem of maintaining and increasing it, shall be made by the two secretaries. Consequently, there has been no committee on membership appointed for the coming year.

The attendance at the present meeting is 379, which compares favorably with that at other meetings. Indeed, it might have been expected, in view of present-day conditions, that the attendance would be much smaller.

The committee on publications has prepared and presented a complete report on that subject, but as this is not to be read at this meeting it may not be amiss to remark that the General Index to Papers and Annual Reports from 1884 to 1914, which constitutes Volume II of the Annual Report for 1914, has been completed and is now in press; it will probably be distributed during the first half of the coming year. The Annual Report for 1915, in one volume, has been in press for some time and should have appeared before now. It will without doubt be distributed during the spring. The Annual Report for 1916, in two volumes, has been in the hands of the Public Printer for some months. The second volume is a collection of letters mainly addressed to R. M. T. Hunter and edited for the Historical Manuscripts Commission by Prof. Charles H. Ambler. The essay to which was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in 1915, "The Leveller Movement," by T. C. Pease, has been printed and distributed. It will be noted that the appearance of the volume has been greatly improved. The essay which received the Justin Winsor prize in 1916, "Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818," by R. J. Purcell, is nearly through the press.

It will be remembered that at the annual meeting in Cincinnati the council announced its intention of publishing a quarterly bulletin provided arrangements could be made to finance such an enterprise. A certain amount was generously pledged by those in attendance at Cincinnati, but in view of the very heavy burden under which the treasury has labored during the past year it has seemed unwise to the finance committee of the council to inaugurate any undertaking not absolutely necessary which should increase that burden. The project is, however, merely suspended and it is earnestly hoped that in another year or so it may be put into execution.

Attention is again called to the fact that the association has a stock of publications valued at several thousand dollars. The finance committee is anxious to dispose of as much of this stock as possible and it is probable that some plan for selling it will be devised and put into operation during the coming year.

During the past year the association was represented by Dr. Charles Lyon Chandler at the Congress of History and Bibliography held at Montevideo. In response to an invitation from the Historical and Geographical Institute of Brazil the council has decided to participate formerly in the International Congress of American History which is to be held at Rio Janeiro in September, 1922, in connection with the celebration of the centenary of Brazilian independence. The form that this participation will take is to be determined by a committee of five, of which Prof. Bernard Moses is chairman, which has

been appointed. It is the policy of the association to do all in its power to foster a solidarity of interest among the historical scholars of North and South America.

While the association is not officially engaged in any war activities, the historical scholarship of the country is, nevertheless, coming to the fore in work of all sorts. Many of our members are now in uniform. Others are working in one capacity or another for the National or State Governments. Still others are devoting their time and efforts to the work of such bodies as the National Security League and the National Board for Historical Service which latter is composed entirely of members of this association. One member of the council is engaged in Young Men's Christian Association work with troops at Camp Gordon, and other members of the association are writing or lecturing to general audiences and to soldiers. The association may justly feel that in all these activities it has its part since the spirit of service and cooperation which prompts them has been carefully fostered by it during all the years of its existence.

Thirty-three of our members have died during the year. Two of these were life members—Miss Mary Alice Keach and Mr. Robert Lee Traylor. A complete list of deceased members is herewith given:

George E. Adams.
Elizabeth Talbot Belt.
Josiah H. Benton.
James H. Blodgett.
George W. Botsford.
Ora Butterfield.
Rt. Rev. Charles E. Cheney.
John H. Cuffman.
George Perrin Davis.
Theodore N. Ely.
Henry Ferguson.
Simeon Gilbert.
Samuel Hart.
Horace E. Hayden.
George H. Howison.
Mary Alice Keach.
A. L. Keister.

Charles A. Kent.
Stuart L. B. Kinzer.
Virgil P. Kline.
Blanche Leavitt.
Henry M. Leipziger.
Wayne MacVeagh.
Nathaniel Paine.
George L. Rives.
Henry A. Sill.
Arthur F. Strome.
Mary K. Talcott.
Robert Lee Traylor.
Mrs. Audrey Updike.
A. D. Wetherell.
Frank S. Witherbee.
P. Henry Woodward.

Respectfully submitted,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

STATEMENT OF TREASURER, DECEMBER 19, 1917.

Balance on hand December 19, 1916----- \$3, 219. 64

Receipts to date:

Annual dues—

2,252 at \$3. 00-----	\$6, 756. 00
1 " .75-----	.75
1 " 2. 00-----	2. 00
1 " 2. 94-----	2. 94
5 " 3. 05-----	15. 25
9 " 3. 10-----	27. 90
5 " 3. 15-----	15. 75
2 " 3. 25-----	6. 50
1 " 3. 50-----	3. 50
1 " 4. 00-----	4. 00
	<hr/>
	\$6, 834. 59

Life membership dues-----	50. 00
Dividend on bank stock-----	240. 00
Interest on bond and mortgage-----	900. 00
Loan C. W. Bowen-----	1, 642. 00

Receipts to date—Continued.

Publications—		
Prize essays-----	318.36	
Papers and reports-----	48.70	
Writings on American History-----	40.90	
Royalties -----	134.27	
		542.23
Gift for London headquarters-----		50.00
Miscellaneous—		
Lists of members-----	40.00	
Amount paid for copy of American Historical Review for member of As- sociation -----	.40	
Cash from unknown source-----	2.00	
		42.40
		10,301.22
Total receipts to date-----		13,520.86
Total disbursements to date-----		11,096.51
Balance on hand December 19, 1917-----		2,424.35

DISBURSEMENTS, DEC. 19, 1916, TO DEC. 19, 1917.

Expense of administration.

Secretary and treasurer, vouchers 18, 19, 20, 21, 27, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 66, 69, 71, 74, 75, 81, 82, 83, 87, 88, 89, 92, 96, 97, 100, 101, 105, 106, 107, 112, 113, 114, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 136, 141, 152, 154:

Itemized as follows—

Salary of assistant-----	\$950.00	
Additional assistance and services of all kinds -----	177.10	
		\$1,127.10
Postage-----		226.47
Telegrams, messenger service, express, money- order fees, notary fees-----		24.19
Stationery and supplies-----		109.15
Furnishings-----		18.67
Printing and duplicating-----		35.00
Auditing treasurer's report, 1916-----		20.00
Collection charges -----		2.55
Miscellaneous-----		1.75
Express charges on account of Winsor Prize Committee -----		7.98
		\$1,572.86

Executive council, vouchers 135, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 155:

Itemized as follows—

Expense incurred in travel to attend meeting of
executive council, Dec. 1, 1917—

W. G. Leland-----	\$14.96	
H. E. Bourne-----	38.31	
G. S. Ford-----	15.55	
E. B. Greene-----	55.76	
S. B. Harding-----	12.20	
Lucy M. Salmon-----	3.10	
U. B. Phillips-----	39.94	
G. M. Wrong-----	29.63	
Charles Moore-----	29.59	
		239.04

Secretary of the council, vouchers 28, 29, 43, 142, 143:

Itemized as follows—

Services -----	3.90	
Postage-----	5.00	
Printing -----	13.50	
Stationery -----	13.75	
		36.15

Committee on nominations, vouchers 108, 130, 131, 137, 138, 156:

Itemized as follows—

Services -----	10. 00
Postage -----	27. 00
Telegrams -----	1. 50
Printing -----	34. 00
Supplies -----	5. 00

77. 50

Annual meetings.

Committee on program, 1917, voucher 140:

Itemized as follows—

Services -----	15. 00
Postage -----	31. 14
Stationery -----	12. 25
Printing -----	65. 00

123. 30

Conference of historical societies, vouchers 54, 132, 157:

Itemized as follows—

Postage -----	14. 80
Express -----	. 78
Printing -----	37. 75
Miscellaneous -----	. 39

53. 72

Publications.

Committee on publications, vouchers, 30, 38, 44, 45, 46, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 72, 73, 77, 78, 85, 86, 90, 102, 110, 111, 139:

Itemized as follows—

Printing and binding -----	844. 53
Wrapping and mailing -----	33. 18
Postage and express -----	49. 30
Storage and insurance -----	109. 33
Advertising -----	11. 00
Miscellaneous -----	7. 15

1, 054. 49

Editorial services, vouchers 37, 50, 60, 91, 98, 115, 123, 153-----

138. 55

Cumulative index.

Vouchers 76, 133 ----- 750. 00

American Historical Review.

Vouchers 47, 48, 49, 67, 80, 93, 94, 95, 103, 104, 109, 151----- 4, 261. 20

Standing committees.

Historical manuscripts commission, voucher 70:

Itemized as follows: Stationery-----

6. 70

Public archives commission, vouchers 84, 124, 134:

Itemized as follows—

Services -----	\$2. 85
Postage -----	4. 85
Expense of preparing report on archives of Idaho--	75. 00

82. 70

Committee on membership, voucher 31:

Itemized as follows—

Services -----	3. 50
Postage -----	6. 50

10. 00

Committee on bibliography, voucher 158:

Itemized as follows: Services-----

5. 00

Prizes and subventions.

Adams prize committee, voucher 79:

Itemized as follows—

Amount of prize-----	200.00
Author's share of expense of printing additional pages, to be deducted-----	75.00

Amount paid author-----	125.00
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Writings on American history, voucher 119:

Appropriation for 1917-----	200.00
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History Teacher's Magazine, vouchers 68, 99:

Appropriation for 1917-----	200.00
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Committee on finance.

Vouchers 22, 23:

Itemized as follows: Printing-----	50.00
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Funds held in trust.

Voucher 24:

London headquarters-----	150.00
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Payment of loan.

Voucher 116-----	1,642.00
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Bills payable Dec. 19, 1916.

Secretary and treasurer, vouchers 1, 2, 3, 4, 25, 26:

Services-----	\$33.25
Printing and duplicating-----	20.50
Furnishings-----	4.00
	<u>\$57.75</u>

Executive council, voucher 5:

Expense incurred in travel to attend meeting of executive council, Dec. 2, 1916: Lucy M. Sal- mon-----	2.80
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Committee on program, 1916, voucher 6:

Expense of printing and mailing program of annual meeting, 1916-----	173.50
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Committee on nominations, vouchers 7, 8:

Telegrams and telephone-----	1.65
Printing-----	6.00
	<u>7.65</u>

241.70

Conference of historical societies, voucher 9:

Services-----	8.50
Mimeographing-----	4.25
Postage-----	7.00
	<u>19.75</u>

Editorial services, voucher 10:

Proof reading-----	1.00
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General committee, vouchers 11, 12, 13, 14:

Services-----	16.50
Postage-----	7.80
	<u>24.30</u>

Committee on bibliography, voucher 15:

Services-----	8.87
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Committee on history in schools, voucher 16:

Services-----	12.00
Postage-----	5.00
Express-----	.29
	<u>17.29</u>

Winsor prize committee, voucher 17:

Express-----	5.30
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318.21

Net receipts-----	11,096.51
Net disbursements-----	8,659.22
Excess of disbursements over receipts-----	9,454.51
	<u>795.29</u>

The assets of the association are:

Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.-----	\$20,000.00
Accrued interest on above from Sept. 29, 1917 to Dec. 19, 1917----	201.87
20 Shares American Exchange National Bank stock at \$220-----	4,400.00
Cash on hand (National Park Bank of New York)-----	2,424.35
Endowment fund on deposit in Central Trust Co. of New York----	1,490.00
<hr/> Total assets -----	<hr/> 28,516.22
Assets at last annual report-----	28,021.51
<hr/> An increase during the year of-----	<hr/> 494.71
Among the assets of the association should be included:	
Publications in stock, estimate-----	6,438.00
Furniture, office equipment, etc., estimate-----	250.00
	<hr/> 6,688.00

PHILADELPHIA, PA., December 29, 1917.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, *Treasurer.*

REPORT OF THE AUDIT COMMITTEE.

We have examined the above report and also a report thereon by the American Audit Co. and find them to be correct and in satisfactory form.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

I. J. COX.

THE AMERICAN AUDIT Co.

MR. C. W. BOWEN,

Treasurer American Historical Association,

New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: We have audited the accounts and records of the American Historical Association from December 20, 1916, to December 19, 1917, and submit our report herewith, including the following exhibits:

Exhibit A.—Assets as at December 19, 1917.

Exhibit B.—Receipts and disbursements from December 20, 1916, to December 19, 1917.

We verified the cash receipts as shown by the records and the cash disbursements with the receipted vouchers on file and found the same to agree with the treasurer's report.

The balances on deposit in banks, according to certificates from the banks, were reconciled with the check-book balances, and found to agree with the treasurer's report, except 11 cents in the endowment fund.

We inspected in New York the bond and mortgage on New York real estate and the stock certificates representing the 20 shares of the American Exchange National Bank.

Respectfully submitted,

THE AMERICAN AUDIT Co.,
By C. R. CRANMER,
Resident Manager.

Approved:

F. W. LAFRENTZ,

President.

Attest:

[SEAL.] A. F. LAFRENTZ, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 22, 1917.

EXHIBIT A.—*Assets as at December 19, 1917.*

Cash on hand: National City Bank of New York, N. Y.	\$2, 424. 35
Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York City	20, 000. 00
Accrued interest on above	201. 87
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock, New York City at \$220	4, 400. 00
Endowment fund: Cash on deposit at Central Trust Co., New York City	1, 489. 89
Inventories: (Not verified by The American Audit Co.):	
Publications in stock	6, 438. 00
Furniture, office equipment, etc. (estimate)	250. 00
Total assets	35, 204. 11

EXHIBIT B.—*Statement of receipts and disbursements from Dec. 20, 1916, to
Dec. 19, 1917.*

Receipts:

Annual dues	\$6, 834. 59
Life membership	50. 00
Dividends on stock, American Exchange National Bank	240. 00
Interest on bond and mortgage on real estate, 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York City	900. 00
Publications	407. 96
Royalties	134. 27
Gift to London headquarters	50. 00
Receipts, services, etc., list of members	40. 00
Miscellaneous receipts	2. 40

Total receipts, account 1917	\$8, 659. 22
Loans by C. W. Bowen	1, 642. 00
Total receipts	10, 301. 22
Cash on hand Dec. 20, 1916	3, 219. 64
	13, 520. 86

Disbursements:

Secretary and treasurer	\$1, 572. 86
Executive council	239. 04
Secretary of the council	36. 15
Committee on nominations	77. 50
Committee on program, 1917	123. 39
Conference of historical societies	53. 72
Committee on publications	1, 054. 49
Editorial services	138. 55
Cumulative index	750. 00
American Historical Review	4, 261. 20
Historical manuscripts commission	6. 70
Public archives commission	82. 70
Committee on membership	10. 00
Committee on bibliography	5. 00
Adams prize	125. 00
Writings on American history	200. 00
History Teacher's Magazine	200. 00
Special committee on finance	50. 00
Held in trust	150. 00

Total disbursement, account 1917	\$9, 136. 30
Bills payable Dec. 19, 1916	318. 21
Payment of loans, C. W. Bowen	1, 642. 00
Total disbursements	11, 096. 51
Cash on hand Dec. 19, 1917	2, 424. 35
	13, 520. 86

REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:

On behalf of the public archives commission I have the honor to submit a report for the year 1917.

The report of the commission for 1916 was transmitted to the publication committee in season and is in press. With the publication of this report there will be available several more chapters treating of phases of the science of archives. These and those that have appeared in former reports make an almost complete series of tentative presentations toward the proposed "Primer." The commission judges that it may well rest its labors at this stage and await future developments, under more propitious circumstances, for bringing the proposed work to completion in its final form.

Prof. Thomas Maitland Marshall, formerly of the University of Idaho, and now of the department of history in the University of Colorado, was appointed an adjunct member of the commission for 1917. He has prepared a "Report on the Public Archives of Idaho," typewritten on 80 pages, letterhead size. His survey was confined to the archives in the old and new capitol buildings at Boise. No attempt was made to examine the records of the various State institutions; but for the assistance of investigators a list of the institutions is included. Likewise, boards and commissions whose records are not at Boise have been listed.

Prof. Charles Edward Chapman, of the University of California, made in 1916 a partial survey of a number of important archives of South America, including Buenos Aires, Santiago and Lima. The results he embodied in an article on "South America as a Field for an Historical Survey." This article forms an appendix to the report of the public archives commission for 1916. It has also been printed as "Document X" in a pamphlet entitled, "A Californian in South America," of which only 200 copies were issued for private distribution.

The State of California, under the auspices of the California historical survey commission, has been making a survey of the county archives. During the past summer the Michigan historical commission began a survey of the State archives in the executive department and the department of state at Lansing, to be continued this winter; and a survey of the county archives is to be undertaken during the summer of 1918. It appears that the Legislature of Michigan has appropriated \$800,000 for a new State building, in which the Michigan historical commission will have offices and accommodations for its records, including the centralization of the State archives, and for a pioneer museum. The substantial new building provided for the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul is about completed. A self-appointed body of citizens prepared a very informing "Report on the Condition of the Public Records of the State of New Jersey," which was used in an endeavor to secure legislation during the winter of 1917. This report has been reprinted as an appendix to the public archives commission report for 1916, with the consent of our publication committee and by permission of the New Jersey committee.

A conference of archivists has been organized for Thursday afternoon, December 27, in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. A paper will be read by Mr. Waldo G. Leland on "The Archives of the War." This paper will be introductory to a discussion of the subject in all aspects. Invitations have been sent out, and among the acceptances received are those of Dr. Clarence W. Alvord, representing Illinois; Dr. James Sullivan, of New York; Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of North Carolina; Mr. George

S. Godard, of Connecticut; Dr. Solon J. Buck, of Minnesota; Dr. George N. Fuller, of Michigan; and Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University.

For the year 1917 the executive council appropriated \$50 as a budget for the public archives commission. As a report on the Idaho archives could be secured only if arrangements were made at once with Prof. Marshall, since he was to remove from that State in the summer, the chairman of the commission requested him to proceed. Prof. Marshall's expenses amounted to \$75 and he waited several months to be reimbursed. It was only through an additional grant in October of \$40 by transfer from the committee on publications on authorization of the executive council that the public archives commission was able to certify the payment of Prof. Marshall's bill.

The total budget of the commission was therefore \$90, of which \$75 went for the Idaho report; for typewriting the report of 1916 and carbons \$2.85; for postage used \$1.85; for postage in advance \$3—a total of \$82.70; leaving a balance unexpended of \$7.30.

The chairman of the commission was offered two contributions but deemed it inadvisable to accept them without authorization by the executive council. This raises a question. Could not provision be made by the executive council for the acceptance of voluntary contributions for special objects so that these contributions may be paid over to the treasurer of the association and be held as an addition to the budget for the particular object for which the money has been designated by the donor or donors?

The experience of the year of 1917 would seem to suggest an appropriation for 1918 of not less than \$100.

Respectfully submitted,

VICTOR H. PALTSITS, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 1, 1917.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Since their last report to the executive council, the board of editors have completed the transfer of the Review to the association by assigning the existing contract between the board of editors and the Macmillan Co. to the association. This assignment was carried out by entering upon the back of the old contract a form of transfer previously approved by the Macmillan Co., its signature by the members of the board of editors and its acceptance by the association, testified to by the signature of the secretary and application of the association's seal. The board also executed a bill of sale to the association of the tangible effects of the Review and received an acknowledgment of its receipts from the secretary, Mr. Leland.

As it is the feeling of the board that a special duty has been laid upon it by the entrance of the United States into the war, and as this feeling may not, in the absence of explanation, be shared by all members of the association, the board desires to lay before the council its conception of its duty in the management of the Review at this time and of the course of action by which that duty should be fulfilled. It is possible for an historical journal to ignore the war, on the ground that it is not yet practicable to form solid judgments respecting any of its events, for want of adequate materials, and for want of proper perspective and of proper serenity of mind. On the other hand, it would be possible to follow the course of filling its pages, both those which are devoted to formal articles and those devoted to book reviews, to patriotic, but none the less partisan, argumentation against Germany.

We do not think it necessary to follow either of these two courses. We do not wish that the American Historical Review shall contain in 1917 and 1918

anything that we or the members of the association shall regret in 1927 or 1928, as having been written under the influence of the passions of the hour. We feel no desire, and see no need, to disregard in war time the canons imposed on historical writing by universal judgment in times of peace and well understood to be valid at all times.

We may, however, with entire propriety enlighten our public by good articles on any of the numerous historical matters that help to explain the war and the actions of individual nations in it, or that clarify the public intelligence respecting present-day problems by bringing into full view the experience of the United States in preceding wars. We consider it our patriotic, as well as our scientific duty, a service to the cause of the United States as well as a service to the cause of history, to print such articles, and we have taken pains to elicit them.

Thus, in our July number we printed an article by Prof. Fay on the "Beginnings of the Standing Army in Prussia," one by Prof. Fish on the "Northern Railroads in April, 1861," and one by Prof. Ramsdell on the "Confederate Government and the Railroads." In our October number we had an article by Prof. Hayes entitled "The History of German Socialism Reconsidered." In the January number we will print articles by Dr. Justin H. Smith on "American Rule in Mexico in 1846-1848;" by Prof. J. G. Randall on "The Newspaper Problem in its Bearing upon Military Secrecy during the Civil War," and by M. Serge Goriainov, formerly archivist of the ministry of foreign affairs in Petrograd, on "The End of the Alliance of the Emperors," an important chapter in the diplomatic history of the years between 1881 and 1890. These will serve as examples of the kind of article to which we have had reference in the exposition of policy made above. As to what shall be said in such articles, writers are given the usual freedom, and have shown no disposition to abuse it.

If it be said that the effect will be to shift the center of gravity of our numbers to a much later date in history than in the years preceding, we reply that in our judgment the times justify the change, that it corresponds to a shift, for the time at least, in the public interest, and that we shall thereby be more useful. We may add that to change our emphasis in such a way is to do no more than redress a balance which has long lain unreasonably far in the other direction. After the issue of our first 20 volumes we publish figures showing that out of 397 articles published only 8 have related to the history of Europe since 1815. As we should at any time have been glad to publish more articles on this modern period, the fault must be charged to the indifference of the historical profession in America to its exploitation. A prodigious increase of interest in it is now being manifested; the editors of the Review wish to do their part in meeting and sustaining that interest.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY,
Chairman.

December 29, 1917.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Only a small sum was allotted to this committee for its work during the present year, so small as merely to cover the necessary cost of correspondence. For that reason, if no other, it has not been possible to develop any new lines of work or to make any considerable progress on the lines of work already in hand.

The outbreak of war has placed unusual burdens upon most of the members of the committee, so as to turn their attention away from their personal problems of research.

The outbreak of war has also brought special problems to the attention of the committee or its members. The chairman was one of those summoned to the conference in Washington at the end of April, which organized the National Board for Historical Service. In the discussions at that time, it was recognized that a certain amount of work of a bibliographical character would be necessary. At once the chairman was called upon to furnish a list of readings on the causes and issues of the war, which was published in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for June. During the summer, the board, acting especially through Prof. Hull, took up the preparation of a fuller bibliography of somewhat similar scope, which should be accompanied with critical annotations on the several books. This work was carried nearly to completion by Prof. Hull, the chairman of the committee, Prof. Lybyer, and one or two others who assisted in some measure. The matter of printing has been delayed because of certain difficulties in making satisfactory arrangements. At present it is planned to make the work complete to the close of the calendar year, for printing early in 1918.

Prof. Shearer reports the completion of the *Bibliography of American Historical Periodicals*, and that it will be printed in the proceedings of the American Library Institute for 1917.¹ Prof. Rockwell reports that it is out of the question to undertake the *Bibliography of American Church History* along lines which he suggested in the last report of the committee. The other members of the committee, with the exception of Dr. Steiner, either have nothing to report, or merely report progress with their several lines of work. Dr. Slade, of the Library of Congress, has felt that the demands on his time have made it necessary to ask to be relieved from the committee. It seems to the chairman that either he or some other person from the staff of the Library of Congress should be continued upon the committee.

Dr. Steiner has in charge the work on the *Bibliography of American Travel*, which was initiated by a special committee of the association and later transferred to this committee. With the assistance of Mr. Dielmann, of the Peabody Library, in Baltimore, Dr. Steiner has collected a large number of title slips, and it is suggested that during the coming year the committee may arrange for the passing of this collection of slips about among the more important libraries, for the purpose of getting additional titles. When this shall have been done, it will be necessary to decide whether to print a title-a-line list as a preliminary edition, or whether to prepare at once the material for final publication.

As for some years previous, the chairman has during the present year contributed bibliographical notes with regard to European publications to each of the quarterly issues of the *American Historical Review*.

While it is understood that the council of the association will find it impossible to place any appropriation at the disposal of this committee for the year 1918, yet the chairman wishes to emphasize the necessity of liberal appropriation for this committee by the association if any work of importance is to be completed and published. The preparation and publication of bibliographies is a laborious and somewhat expensive task, and can only be carried to completion through the support of such a body as the American Historical Association or through some form of private contributions. Unless it seems probable that the association will be prepared within a reasonably short time to make adequate appropriations for the work of this committee, it is doubtful whether it is desirable to maintain the committee in existence at all, instead of merely in abeyance, as is the proposition for the coming year. So much

¹ Also printed in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1916*, Vol. I, pp. 477-484.

work, however, has been done on the Bibliography of American Travel, and the work is so important for students of American history, that it seems desirable that provision of some sort should be made in the near future for the completion and publication of this work at least.

The committee, even though nominally in abeyance during the coming year, will obviously be glad to be of any service to the association or to the National Board for Historical Service which it may be able to render to the cause of historical research or the interests of the Nation in the present situation.

The expenditures of the committee during the year 1917 have been \$5 for stenographic services, for which a bill is inclosed. This leaves a balance of \$5 from the appropriation of \$10 placed at the disposal of the committee for the year.

Respectfully submitted.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 14, 1917.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

To the American Historical Association.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to submit to your consideration the following report covering the year 1917. As chairman of the committee on publications, I have had oversight of these matters: I. Annual reports (in part) for 1914, for 1915, and for 1916. II. The Justin Winsor prize essay of 1916 entitled "Connecticut in transition: 1775-1818," written by Dr. Richard J. Purcell, now at St. Thomas College, St. Paul, Minn.

I. The first volume of the 1914 report was distributed in March, 1917. It contained the proceedings and papers of the Chicago meeting. The second volume, consisting of an elaborate index of the papers and reports of the association for a period of 30 years (1884-1914), is now going slowly through the press. It is in page proof and should appear during the coming year. It seems probable that the report for 1915—the proceedings and papers of the Washington meeting—will appear early this coming spring, for corrected page proof and index were sent to the printer in October. The last report, that of 1916, consists of two volumes: Volume I will contain proceedings and papers of the Cincinnati meeting; Volume II will be the twelfth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and is made up of the "Correspondence and papers (1826-1885) of Robert M. T. Hunter," edited by Prof. Charles H. Ambler, of Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. This latter work has now been revised in accordance with suggestions brought to your attention last year, and to some slight degree amplified. Altogether, then, there are four volumes now in the hands of the Public Printer which should all appear by next autumn. By that time we may hope to have our slate satisfactorily cleared unless unforeseen burdens are put upon the shoulders of your publications committee.

May I call your attention to a cursory analysis of the contents of Volume I of the 1916 report, together with a few comments? It will contain about a dozen papers read at the Cincinnati meeting, excluding the presidential address (as usual) and all papers that appear in print elsewhere. Five papers read at Cincinnati have appeared in the *American Historical Review*¹; two were taken by the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*²; three others went to the

¹ C. W. Ramsdell, "The Confederate Government and the railroads"; J. S. Reeves, "Two conceptions of the freedom of the seas"; S. B. Fay, "The beginnings of the standing army in Prussia"; J. A. Robertson, "The Philippine Islands since the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly"; and A. L. Cross, "The English criminal law and benefit of clergy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries."

² J. A. James, "Spanish influence in the West during the American Revolution"; and J. R. Robertson, "Sectionalism in Kentucky from 1855 to 1865."

Political Science Quarterly,¹ the Yale Review,² and the Journal of International Law,³ respectively. Four papers⁴ appeared together in a small volume brought out last spring by the Harvard University Press, entitled "Three Peace Congresses of the Nineteenth Century and Claimants to Constantinople." Six papers⁵ for reasons best known to their respective authors were withheld from consideration—one or two of them, perhaps, being printed elsewhere. It was thought best to reject four papers. Although the Cincinnati program was unusually distinguished for the numbers of papers, yet the report of 1916 contains only about the average number of papers usually gathered.

I should like to make at this point a first query: Is it not desirable to print in our annual report the presidential address, which in a conspicuous way is apt to mark the occasion of every meeting? This address, to be sure, always reaches our members through the Review. It would reappear months later in the report. On the other hand, it would mark the volume and so increase its value as a work of reference.

II. There is no need this year of long comment regarding the prize essay. It will appear in the same garb as was given to Dr. Pease's "The Leveller Movement." It is longer than that work and will probably be rather more expensive, inasmuch as it will contain three charts. The sales of Dr. Pease's essay thus far (December 19) amount to just 194 copies, for which the association has received \$199. The total cost of the Pease volume, including wrapping, mailing, and postage, is close to \$860. Dr. Purcell's volume is likely to cost somewhat more.

. During the past two years the editor, aided by Mr. Leland, has been unable to place the manuscripts of the essays in the hands of the printer before mid-August. Under good conditions, manuscripts then started can be got into page proof by October 15. Experience shows that the making of an index by more or less untried authors is a matter of at least two months. I wish very much that the making of the index for the prize essays could be regularly left to some expert such as can easily be found in the Washington office. The reason against this plan is a tradition that seems to be associated with these prizes, to the effect that it is good for the writer to try his inexperienced hand on this rather delicate matter. To be promptly published, these essays should be ready for the printer not later than June 1 of the year following the prize; the index should as a rule be done by an expert and not by the author. This recommendation means simply that the prize essay could appear without failure early in December of every year, and that a month or two of time would in every case be saved.

Last year you appropriated for editorial purposes \$250, an addition of \$50 over the preceding appropriation (\$200). I transferred to the Public Archives Commission for a report on the archives of Idaho from this amount \$40, leaving \$210. Of this latter amount, I have expended already (Nov. 21) for the reading of proof (chiefly) \$123.60. The balance now on hand is accordingly \$86.40, most of which will be used within a month or so.

¹ A. M. Schlesinger, "The uprising against the East India Company."

² C. Seymour, "The ententes and the isolation of Germany."

³ W. E. Lingelbach, "England and neutral trade in the Napoleonic and present wars."

⁴ C. D. Hazen, "The Congress of Vienna"; W. R. Thayer, "The Congress of Paris"; R. H. Lord, "The Congress of Berlin"; and A. C. Coolidge, "Claims upon Constantinople: national, geographical, and historic."

⁵ Laura A. White, "Robert Barnwell Rhett and South Carolina, 1826-1852"; R. P. Brooks, "Howell Cobb and the crisis of 1850"; A. B. White, "Was there a common council before Parliament?" Ernest A. Smith, "The influence of the religious press of Cincinnati on the northern border States"; and R. C. McGrane, "The Pennsylvania bribery bill of 1836"; also E. C. Semple's paper (see program).

Confining attention to the prize essays, the annual output for the year (Dec. 19, 1916-Dec. 19, 1917) in cost has been \$996.52. Receipts have been \$315.86. This means a net loss of \$680.66. Of this loss the storing and insurance item alone is \$109.33, which is slowly increasing with our increase of stock.

The estimated value of the prize essays now on hand is \$3,513. These essays consist of 4,209 copies—1,426 bound copies and 2,783 unbound copies. The following tabulation reveals the number of copies sold since last year:

Notestein's Witchcraft (611+7)-----	618
Carter's Illinois Country (552+12)-----	564
Krehbiel's Interdict (510+7)-----	517
Cole's Whig Party (415+20)-----	435
Turner's Negro in Pennsylvania (406+9)-----	415
Brown's Baptists, etc. (347+8)-----	355
Williams's Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy (317+33)-----	350
Barbour's Earl of Arlington (267+18)-----	285
Muzzey's Spiritual Franciscans (186+7)-----	193
Pease's Leveller Movement-----	194
Total sold, 1916-17-----	315

The estimated value of all other publications held by us, including papers, annual reports, church history papers, and writings on American history, amounts to \$2,925. Three of the essays have sold thus far upward of 500 copies—those by Notestein, Carter, and Krehbiel. Of the others, Cole and Williams are still comparatively "good sellers." The editions of Williams and Pease were limited to 750 copies. It might be desirable to limit still further the edition to 500 copies. I am inclined to believe that such an edition would supply the demand for some years to come of Dr. Purcell's new volume in the series.

Advertising the prize essays seems thus far to have cost the association about \$227. Might it not be desirable to study this particular problem rather carefully with a view to the possibility of forcing greater sales? The sum of \$200, appropriated for this special purpose, might be judiciously spent over a year or so for advertising purposes, I think. Yet I still have grave doubt about the desirability of maintaining the series. My opinion as expressed last year still seems to me reasonable. While the two prizes have encouraged young doctors to get their doctoral dissertations into print under the favoring auspices of this association, one is safe in saying that this work, done by youthful specialists trained at various universities, would have been printed under other auspices and have reached very nearly the same limited reading public. Twenty-five years ago this method of encouragement was justified. It is, I think, no longer so.

In conclusion, I should like to make two or three suggestions of a constructive nature. These suggestions, if feasible, mean the expenditure in future of such moneys as can be spared for larger tasks than have heretofore been done. As far back as November 24, 1908, an "assistant committee on the documentary historical publications of the United States Government," headed by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, and composed of eight other members—Messrs. C. F. Adams, C. M. Andrews, W. A. Dunning, A. B. Hart, A. C. McLaughlin, A. T. Mahan, F. J. Turner, and J. F. Jameson—made a brief but notable report on the needs regarding the better organization and publication of documentary materials, papers (official and unofficial), and a considerable variety of matter of interest to students of social, economic, and political history, at present either in the archives of the Government or in private hands. So far as I know, this report led to no significant results. It was certainly remarkable

enough to merit far more attention than apparently it gained from this association. My thought in citing it is merely this, that such an excellent step toward putting this association in touch with widespread needs, some of them of a national character, ought not at this time to be overlooked. The present national emergency has already enlarged our horizon and must, if wisely met, strengthen the hope of widening the scope of our publication efforts.

While the National Board for Historical Service is not formally related to this association, it developed out of it, and is certain to quicken our efforts and to react upon the aims of our best-endowed members. The war is bound to bring new needs to the light—there must be in future much careful collecting of papers, arranging these for use, making them accessible. And this work should be to some extent directed by the well-equipped members of this association. The problem is to get ourselves recognized to a greater extent by the Government so that we may be useful. Tasks which we set about must be worth doing, and carefully planned. In the summary of chief recommendations made or suggested by Mr. Ford's committee, I note, among others, such enterprises as these: (1) A collection of State trials; (2) the correspondence of John Adams; (3) plans of colonial union previous to the Congress of 1774; (4) a reprint of at least the first three volumes of the Executive Journals of the Senate; (5) the papers of Andrew Jackson; (6) the papers of Jefferson Davis; etc. To-day other subjects, especially in the fields of diplomacy, foreign relations, military and naval history, and Government administration will readily suggest themselves. Some of this work will undoubtedly be done in the course of years through private enterprise. Some of it must probably be done by the Government. I wish, however, to suggest that careful study of this committee report to-day might lead to the projection of tasks that this association would heartily approve. Such tasks would strength our position, I think, in the eyes of public men and men of affairs. At any rate such tasks as I have in mind and have tried to suggest may make better worth while the time of the chairman of the publication committee, heretofore chiefly spent on the annual reports and the prize essays. The time spent on the annual reports I do not begrudge. The time spent on the prize essays is relatively very much more than that spent on the reports. In my judgment you are spending altogether too much money of the association and asking too much of my time as chairman of the publication committee for this particular work.

Respectfully submitted.

H. BARRETT LEARNED.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:

The conference of historical societies met last December at Cincinnati and discussed various papers. In order to record the proceedings while they were still fresh in the minds of those who attended and while they were still wanted by those who could not attend, a booklet was published in February containing the proceedings and reports of societies.

Arrangements for the next conference at Philadelphia are practically completed. The program has worked itself out in a satisfactory manner and a copy has been in Prof. Ames's hands since November 10.

At the coming conference an important part of the business will be to organize. For this purpose a committee on financial contributions and voting powers has been appointed with Dr. S. J. Buck as chairman; a committee on needed officers and committees with Prof. B. F. Shambaugh as chairman; a committee on the nomination of chairman with Mr. Frank H. Severance as chairman.

My plan now is to publish a report of the conference in January or February, as in 1917, and a list of all known historical societies and their agencies in the United States and Canada with such facts as are known about them. It is gratifying to report that already 107 societies have answered the questionnaire, which is 17 more than in any previous year, and additional answers may be expected up to January 1. Evidently the societies do not wish to be left out of the proposed handbook.

The one unsettled matter is that of contributions. The conference was fostered for years by the American Historical Association, but hoped after last year's action of the council to become independent financially. It must be remembered, however, that the conference is very intangible. It has no definite membership as yet. The attendance fluctuates with always a certain interested number who are regularly present, mainly men from the State societies and a large number of casual attendants from the neighborhood of the meeting place. The subjects discussed are of value to those attending and if the present plan of immediate publication can be carried out they will be of value to distant societies. In the aggregate the papers at the conferences referring to historical societies and their problems would form a good-sized book, which, with considerable editing, might eventually be published separately. Discussions, however, are not enough to bind the societies together. Committees may do something in that line, but my idea is that the proposed annual handbook will do more. The cost of this is uncertain and financial backing very uncertain. The plan to organize provides for contributions of 1 cent per member from societies. Already about eight societies have signified their intention of contributing, but it has been deemed wise, after consultation, not to ask for these contributions for 1917. They will begin after Dr. Buck's committee report has been adopted. My hope is that the first year \$50 or \$75, perhaps more, will come from the societies. My expectation is that about \$100 will, if economically expended, provide for postage, handbook, notices, etc., for 1918.

Under the circumstances as noted, I am forced to ask the council for an appropriation of not less than \$25 for 1918, in order to carry over the work of the conference and provide for a probable inertia on the part of the societies in beginning to make contributions.

Respectfully submitted.

A. H. SHEARER, *Secretary*.

NOVEMBER 22, 1917.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP.

To the Council of the American Historical Association:

The committee on membership begs to submit the following analysis of the statistics of the membership of the association together with a report of its activities during the year 1916-17.

Your committee has made no effort to carry on a general campaign for new members in the past year, partly because the war with its many claims upon the interest of people seemed to make it inadvisable, and partly because adequate funds were not voted for such a campaign. The work of the committee has, therefore, consisted chiefly in personal efforts on the part of individual members, and in some cases with highly gratifying results.

In normal times it has been demonstrated that there is a fairly steady accession to the membership year by year to offset deaths and withdrawals. But these are abnormal times. War-time economy has made serious inroads on the membership of scientific and social organizations. With our association this has manifested itself not only in resignations, but in a reluctance on the part

of men and women who would normally become members, from joining at this time. Many replies to our invitations to become members urge this objection.

In view of this, the decrease in membership during the year from 2,739 to 2,642—that is, of 97—is not at all extraordinary. Even this I am confident will be materially reduced by the addition of new names between this and the new year, though the results of the local campaign in connection with the Cincinnati meeting were not successful.

An analysis of the membership shows the following interesting distribution by regions:

New England (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut), 448. Additions, 10 (3 in New Hampshire, 4 in Massachusetts, 3 in Connecticut, and none in Maine and Rhode Island); altogether too small.

North Atlantic (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia), 798. Additions, 51 (23 in New York, 4 in New Jersey, 22 in Pennsylvania, none in Delaware and Maryland, and 2 in District of Columbia).

South Atlantic (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida), 141. Additions, 12 (4 in Virginia, 2 in North Carolina, 1 in South Carolina, 4 in Georgia, and 1 in Florida). Compare with 10 additions in New England; comparatively this represents three times as large an increase.

North Central (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin), 533. Additions, 42 (13 in Ohio, 3 in Indiana, 5 in Illinois, 12 in Michigan and 9 in Wisconsin). Evidence that general invitations such as were issued last year do not succeed even when the annual meeting is held in the region.

South Central (Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia), 91. Additions, 14 (1 in Alabama, 4 in Kentucky, 1 in Tennessee, 8 in West Virginia). This represents the interested cooperation of Mr. McConnell, a member of the committee, and demonstrates clearly the kind of effort that brings results.

West Central (Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas), 276. Additions, 28 (1 in Arkansas, 4 in Minnesota, 2 in Iowa, 4 in Missouri, 2 in North Dakota, 1 in Nebraska, 2 in Oklahoma, 9 in Kansas, 3 in Texas).

Pacific Coast (Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, California), 260. Additions, 15 (California 9, 2 in Idaho, 3 in Utah, 1 in New Mexico).

Territories (Porto Rico, Alaska, Hawaii, Philippine Islands), 6. No changes.

From this analysis of the distribution of the membership a number of deductions suggest themselves. One in particular has impressed your committee, namely, the indifference of the rank and file of the association's membership in securing the normal additions year by year from among the graduate students and the teachers of history.

Additions from this source represent a much healthier and permanent growth of the association than the more or less temporary additions obtained through a whirlwind campaign in connection with the annual meeting. For this reason they should be on the conscience of all the active members of the association. That they are not, save in a few cases, is evident from the statistics. How otherwise account for only four additions from Massachusetts, and five from Illinois, States with several large universities and graduate schools?

In the estimation of your committee, an earnest effort should be made to impress the needs of the association in this particular upon its members.

In regard to the composition of the committee for 1917-18 it is understood, I believe, that a new chairman, preferably from the region of the next annual meeting, be appointed. The West Central States should have a stronger representation on the committee. Dr. Melvin, of Kansas, has done excellent work, as have Prof. Hulme and Dr. Gutsch, of Texas.

The falling off in the membership of New England from 542 in 1913 to 448 in 1917 suggests the appointment of one or two active persons in that region. This year the committee lost a promising young member through the resignation of Mr. George, who enlisted in the Army early in the summer.

In my previous report I spoke of the desirability of working out a plan for associate membership with a possible difference in the annual dues, and a substitution of the History Teacher's Magazine for the review or annual report. There seemed to be difficulties that made it unwise for the council to take the matter up at that time. Despite this, however, I am convinced that the association's sphere of influence could and should be very widely extended by some such plan for coordination through joint membership with the many active history teachers' associations of the country. The war has revealed the potentiality of the teachers of history throughout the country in the work of educating public opinion, and it seems to your committee a rare opportunity to bring them together under the ægis of the American Historical Association at this time.

A further analysis of the membership by States with the vital statistics is appended.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. E. LINGELBACH, *Chairman.*

DECEMBER 1, 1917.

Statistics of membership, 1917, by States.

	Nov. 21, 1917.	New members Nov. 21, 1917.
Alabama.....	9	1
Alaska.....		
Arizona.....	3	
Arkansas.....	4	1
California.....	160	9
Colorado.....	14	
Connecticut.....	95	3
Delaware.....	11	
District of Columbia.....	88	2
Florida.....	5	1
Georgia.....	22	4
Hawaii.....		
Idaho.....	5	2
Illinois.....	190	5
Indiana.....	50	3
Iowa.....	43	2
Kansas.....	34	9
Kentucky.....	24	4
Louisiana.....	16	
Maine.....	20	
Maryland.....	54	
Massachusetts.....	272	4
Michigan.....	92	12
Minnesota.....	50	4
Mississippi.....	5	
Missouri.....	49	4
Montana.....	11	
Nebraska.....	24	1
Nevada.....	4	
New Hampshire.....	29	3
New Jersey.....	82	4
New Mexico.....	7	1
New York.....	372	23
North Carolina.....	30	2
North Dakota.....	4	2
Ohio.....	117	13

Statistics of membership, 1917, by States—Continued.

	Nov. 21, 1917.	New members Nov. 21, 1917.
Oklahoma.....	10	2
Oregon.....	17	..
Pennsylvania.....	191	22
Philippine Islands.....	4	..
Porto Rico.....	2	..
Rhode Island.....	25	..
South Carolina.....	25	1
South Dakota.....	8	..
Tennessee.....	30	1
Texas.....	34	3
Utah.....	12	3
Vermont.....	7	..
Virginia.....	59	4
Washington.....	24	..
West Virginia.....	23	8
Wisconsin.....	84	9
Wyoming.....	3	..
Canada.....	33	1
Cuba.....	3	..
South America.....	2	2
Foreign.....	51	1
Total.....	2,642	176

Statistics of membership, general.

	1916	Nov. 21, 1917.
Total membership.....	2,739	2,642
Life.....	117	115
Annual.....	2,388	2,307
Institutions.....	234	220
Total paid membership.....	2,378	1,736
Delinquent, total.....	361	906
Since last bill.....	..	892
For 1 year.....	..	14
Loss, total.....	431	273
Deaths.....	40	23
Resignations.....	118	73
Dropped.....	273	177
Gain, total.....	244	176
Life.....	1	1
Annual.....	235	170
Institutions.....	8	5
Total number of elections.....	172	161
Net gain or loss.....	+13	-97

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORY IN SCHOOLS.

To the Council of the American Historical Association:

In accepting the honor conferred upon me by the American Historical Association at the Cincinnati meeting last year I expressed to the secretary of the council a conviction that the scope of the problem assigned to the committee on history in schools should be enlarged. It seemed to me then, and it seems to me now, essentially futile to define the field of history for the high school without defining at the same time the field of history for the elementary school. The Madison conference of 25 years ago gave excellent reasons for dealing with both fields, and recent changes in school organization suggest additional reasons. The old plan of eight years for the elementary school and of four years for the high school is breaking down. We are substituting in some cases the 6-6 plan that is, six years for elementary education and six for

secondary education; and in many more cases the 6-3-3 plan—that is, six years for the elementary school, three years for the junior high school, and three years for a senior high school. This readjustment carries obvious opportunities for reconstruction of the whole history program for schools and creates for those whose duty it is to consider such matters obvious responsibilities.

With the approval of the secretary of the council I therefore submitted to the committee the question: "Shall we accept as our field for investigation and report the entire 12 years of school work?" A majority replied in the affirmative, but there were some very earnest protests from the minority. An informal conference of western members held in Chicago in April resulted in the acceptance of the broader field, agreement on fundamental principles of procedure, and a variety of somewhat contradictory suggestions for the application of the principles. The conclusions were laid before an informal conference of eastern members held in New York in May, and after an extended discussion reduced, with some important modifications, to a fairly definite and coherent plan. Almost immediately after this conference the chairman fell into the hands of the "medical faculty," and further work was kept waiting upon the expectation that he would soon be in condition to submit a full statement for formal action by the committee. As events have turned out, this proved exceedingly unfortunate. The full statement is still to be made and its date is still uncertain. It is now entirely clear that another chairman should have been found early in the summer. With deep regret, but with a sense of duty which has long oppressed my conscience, I therefore beg to be released from any further connection with the active work of the committee.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY JOHNSON,
Chairman.

NOVEMBER 30, 1917.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS PRIZE.

Prof. L. M. Larson, chairman of the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, reported March 4, 1918, that the prize had been awarded to Lieut. F. L. Nussbaum, of the National Army. The subject of his essay is "G. J. A. Ducher: An essay in the political history of mercantilism during the French Revolution."

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS.

To the members of the American Historical Association:

The committee on nominations recommends the election of the following officers for the year 1918:

President, William Roscoe Thayer.

First vice president, Edward Channing.

Second vice president, Jean Jules Jusserand.

Secretary, Waldo G. Leland.

Treasurer, Charles Moore.

Curator, A. Howard Clark.

Secretary of the council, Evarts B. Greene.

Members of the council, Lucy M. Salmon, Samuel B. Harding, Henry E. Bourne, George M. Wrong, Herbert E. Bolton, William E. Dodd, Walter L. Fleming, William E. Lingelbach.

Members of the committee on nominations, Charles H. Ambler, Christopher B. Coleman, Carl R. Fish, J. G. deR. Hamilton, Victor H. Paltsits.

Further nominations may be made over the signatures of not less than 20 members, but all such nominations must be in the hands of the chairman not later than 12 o'clock noon on December 28, 1917. Nominations may also be made from the floor of the annual business meeting.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON, Hanover, N. H.,
Chairman.

CHARLES H. AMBLER, Parkersburg, W. Va.,
CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, Indianapolis, Ind.,
H. BARRETT LEARNED, Washington, D. C.,
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, Chicago, Ill.,
Committee on Nominations.

DECEMBER 3, 1917.

**MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF
THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 1, 1917.**

The council met at 10 a. m., and continued its session during the day, with a short recess at the lunch hour. Present: President W. C. Ford, Vice President W. R. Thayer, Messrs. Leland, Bowen, Miss Salmon, Messrs. Bourne, G. S. Ford, Harding, Moore, Phillips, Wrong, G. B. Adams, Dunning, Jameson, Turner, and the secretary. At the request of the president, the chair was taken by Vice President Thayer, and later by Mr. Jameson.

The following chairmen of committees also attended the meeting: Messrs. Dutcher, Johnson, Learned, Lingelbach, and Paltsits. Mr. E. P. Cheyney attended as chairman of the board of editors of the American Historical Review, and Mr. F. J. Teggart, as the representative of the Pacific coast branch.

The minutes of the meeting of December 29, 1916, were read and approved.

The secretary of the association presented his report, showing that the membership of the association on November 15, 1917, was 2,642 as against the enrollment, at corresponding dates, of 2,719 in 1916 and 2,989 in 1915. The possibility of further decrease as a result of the war was pointed out. The report was received and ordered to be placed on file.

On motion of Mr. Leland, it was voted that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to prepare for an appropriate representation of the American Historical Association at the International Congress of the History of America to be held at Rio Janeiro in September, 1922.

The secretary of the council reported that, in accordance with action taken by the council at its meeting of December 29, 1916, the president of the association had named the following members of the four executive committees then authorized:

Committee on the docket, President W. C. Ford, chairman; E. B. Greene, E. C. Barker, G. L. Burr, A. C. McLaughlin.

Committee on meetings and relations, President W. C. Ford, chairman; W. G. Leland, G. M. Wrong, U. B. Phillips, W. A. Dunning.

Committee on finance, G. S. Ford, chairman; Charles Moore, C. W. Bowen, W. G. Leland, E. B. Greene.

Committee on appointments, President W. C. Ford, chairman; H. E. Bourne, S. B. Harding, Miss Lucy M. Salmon, E. B. Greene.

He also reported the appointment of Mr. F. H. Hodder in place of Mr. W. E. Dodd, who had declined to serve on the Winsor prize committee.

The committee on appointments was authorized to select the members of the program committee for the annual meeting of the association in 1918.

The treasurer of the association presented his usual preliminary report, which was received and ordered placed on file. It showed the financial condition of the association on November 21, 1917, to be as follows:

Net receipts.....	\$7,403.95
Net disbursements.....	7,564.20
Excess of disbursements.....	160.25
Cash on hand.....	3,059.57
Other assets.....	24,732.99
Total assets.....	27,792.56
Decrease in assets.....	228.95
Endowment fund.....	1,490.00

The secretary of the council reported briefly on the work of the following committees: Historical manuscripts committee, committee on the Justin Winsor prize, committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, board of advisory editors of the History Teacher's Magazine, conference of historical societies, committee on history in schools, committee on the military history prize, committee on program, and committee to cooperate with the national highways association.

Reports from the following committees were presented by the chairmen in person: Public archives commission, board of editors of the American Historical Review, committee on bibliography, committee on publications, committee on membership, and committee on headquarters in London. Mr. Jameson reported for the committee on indexing the papers and proceedings of the association, that the index which had been prepared by Mr. Matteson was now in press. All these reports were ordered received and placed on file.

The following recommendations of the advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine were referred to the council committee on finance:

1. That a subsidy from the American Historical Association be continued although, if thought best, reduced in amount.
2. That the number of issues of the magazine be cut down from ten to nine, omitting the issue for September.

On behalf of the committee on finance, Mr. G. S. Ford reported that the committee had examined the contract of the board of editors of the American Historical Review with the Macmillan Co., together with the indorsement made on the said contract by the board of editors and the president and secretary of the American Historical Association, transferring all rights in the said contract from the board of editors to the American Historical Association, and found the indorsement satisfactory. The committee also reported that it had approved a bill of sale transferring to the association the tangible properties and the good will of the Review. The action of the committee on these matters was approved by the council.

On the recommendation of the committee on finance, it was voted to recommend to the association for final approval the following plan for the administration of the funds of the American Historical Review:

1. That the treasurer of the American Historical Association be requested to institute a separate fund called the American Historical Review fund, to be used for purposes of the Review, consisting at its inception of the balance now possessed by the board, and now transferred by it to the treasury of the association;
2. That Macmillan's monthly payments of \$200 and any payments of profits by that firm under their contract be hereafter paid to the treasurer of the association and by him placed to the credit of the American Historical Review fund;
3. That in order to meet the payments which the treasurer has to make to the Macmillan Co. for numbers of the Review sent to members at 40 cents each the council of the association at each annual meeting appropriate to the Ameri-

can Historical Review fund a sum sufficient to cover a payment of \$1.60 for each of the estimated number of members to receive the Review during that year, such estimate to be certified by the secretary of the association.

4. That all such payments as have heretofore been made by the treasurer of the board be hereafter made by the treasurer of the association on warrant from the managing editor.

The committee on finance also reported a tentative budget for the year 1918, showing that the loss of income from membership dues would make necessary a considerable reduction in expenditures, and that after eliminating items to which the association was not already committed, there appeared a considerable excess of estimated expenditures over the estimated receipts. To prevent such a deficit, it was proposed to raise a guarantee fund of about \$1,000. In accordance with these recommendations, the following votes were agreed upon as temporary measures made necessary by war conditions:

1. That the usual November meeting of the council be omitted in 1918.
2. That the appropriations for the public archives commission, the committee on bibliography, and the committee on history in schools be suspended for the year 1918.
3. That the subsidy of the History Teacher's Magazine be withdrawn.

It was pointed out that some provision was now being made through other agencies for the furtherance of the interests involved in these measures of retrenchment.

The other budget recommendations of the finance committee were provisionally agreed to, with the exception of that relating to the Writings on American History, which was referred back to the committee for reconsideration.

The treasurer having made a statement showing that a considerable number of gifts had already been made for increasing the endowment funds of the association, the chairman of the finance committee reported that the committee did not think it advisable at this time to press the campaign for an increase of the endowment by sending a general and urgent appeal for subscriptions. In view, however, of the financial condition of the association, the committee recommended that a full statement be given to the members by way of suggestion to those who might feel able to make contributions at this time. The committee also expressed its approval of Mr. Bowen's suggestion that he and other members of the association, who might be so disposed, should continue to solicit gifts wherever there seemed to be a prospect of success.

The finance committee reported further that it had not seemed practicable to proceed this year with the issue of the proposed quarterly bulletin.

It was voted that the next meeting of the council be held in Philadelphia on the afternoon of Wednesday, December 26, 1917, notice of the exact hour and place to be given later.

It was voted to recommend to the association that the annual meeting for 1919 be held in New Haven.

It was voted that certain requests presented by the Council of Church Boards of Education and the Board of Education of the Northern Baptist Convention be referred to the committee on meetings and relations for report at the next session of the council in Philadelphia.

It was voted, on motion of Mr. Leland, that the question of the advisability of appointing a special committee on policy be placed on the docket for the council meeting in Philadelphia.

It was also voted to place on the docket for that meeting the question of asking the association to take action authorizing the council, as a war measure, to suspend the meeting of the association in 1918 and provide in some other way for the transaction of the routine work of the association.

The item on the docket relating to the possibility of a special fund for research was then presented by Mr. Jameson, who spoke briefly on the new responsibility placed upon American scholars, and particularly the members of this association, by the European war.

On behalf of the special committee appointed to consider a change in the conditions of award for the Adams and Winsor prizes, Dr. Dunning presented resolutions which were adopted, with amendments, as follows:

Resolved, That the terms of award of the Justin Winsor and the Herbert Baxter Adams prizes be modified so as to provide:

1. That the amount of the prize in each case be \$200 (as at present).
2. That the publication of the prize essays in the present form be discontinued.
3. That competition for the prizes be open to monographs, submitted either in manuscript or after publication, provided that the date of publication has been within two years preceding the award.
4. That the competition be limited to monographs in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere who have not previously published any considerable work or won an established reputation.
5. That a monograph to which a prize has been awarded in manuscript may, if deemed in all respects available, be published in the annual report of the association.

Resolved, That the modified system of competition go into effect for the Winsor prize in 1918 and the Adams prize in 1919.

Resolved, That a committee consisting of the chairman of the committee on publications and the chairmen of the two prize committees be appointed to revise the published announcements of the prizes, in accordance with these resolutions.

The motion to adopt the last resolution having been made by Mr. G. B. Adams, a ruling was asked on the question whether an ex-president of the association, not a voting member, was competent to make a motion. On this question the Chair ruled affirmatively, and on appeal from his decision the Chair was sustained.

It was voted that the recipient of the Adams prize in 1917 be asked to waive his right of publication under the rules hitherto in force.

It was voted to recommend to the committee on publications that the presidential address be hereafter included in the annual report of the association.

The council adjourned at 4.30.

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE BELLE- VUE-STRATFORD HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 26, 1917.

The council met at 4 p. m. Present: Messrs. Bourne, Bowen, Clark, G. S. Ford, Harding, Jameson, Leland, Miss Salmon, and the secretary. In the absence of the president and vice presidents the chair was taken by Mr. Jameson. The minutes of the meeting of December 1 were read and approved.

The report of the finance committee was presented by Mr. G. S. Ford, together with the treasurer's statement for December 19, 1917.

The budget for 1918 was agreed to as follows, subject to final approval by the association:

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES.

Secretary and treasurer	\$2,000.00
Committee on nominations	75.00
Pacific-coast branch	50.00
Program committee	150.00
Conference of historical societies	25.00

Committee on publications-----	\$1,000.00
Editorial services-----	150.00
Cumulative index-----	250.00
American Historical Review-----	5,000.00
Historical manuscripts commission-----	150.00
Winsor prize committee-----	200.00
London headquarters-----	150.00
Military history prize-----	250.00
Committee on bibliography of modern English history-----	125.00
Bills payable Dec. 19, 1917-----	28.70
	<hr/>
	9,603.70

ESTIMATED INCOME.

Annual dues-----	\$7,050.00
Life members' fees-----	100.00
Publications-----	400.00
Royalties-----	125.00
Investments-----	1,100.00
Gifts-----	100.00
Registration fees-----	150.00
	<hr/>
	9,025.00

On the recommendation of the board of advisory editors of the History Teacher's Magazine it was voted to approve the reduction of the issues of that magazine from ten to nine on the understanding that the necessary adjustments would be made with the individual subscribers.

It was voted that a definite effort be made by a special committee or otherwise to dispose of the stock of publications of the association now stored in the office of the secretary.

It was voted that the treasurer be instructed to send a bill for the October number of the Review to members whose dues remain unpaid on the 1st of June.

It was voted that in view of the present financial situation the board of editors of the American Historical Review be requested to consider ways and means of reducing expenses of publication.

It was voted that the board of editors of the American Historical Review be authorized to negotiate with the Macmillan Co. respecting the price at which the Review is furnished to members of the association, with the understanding (1) that the price per number be 40 cents, as at present; (2) that the association guarantee the publishers against the deficit on account of the publication of the Review in 1918 to an amount not exceeding 10 cents for each copy furnished to members of the association. (Provided for in the budget.)

It was voted to appoint a special council committee, of five members, on policy, with instructions to report to the council at its next meeting respecting the future scientific activities of the association. The committee on appointments was instructed to present nominations for this committee.

The president of the association was authorized to appoint an audit committee of two members.

Mr. C. H. Van Tyne, treasurer of the board of editors of the American Historical Review, attended the meeting and presented a report on the finances of the Review.

The council adjourned to meet at 10 a. m. on Friday, December. 28.

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE BELLE-
VUE-STRATFORD HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 28, 1917.

The council met at 10 a. m. Present: President W. C. Ford, Messrs, Adams, Bourne, Bowen, Dunning, G. S. Ford, Harding, Jameson, Leland, McLaughlin, Miss Salmon, and the secretary. At the request of President Ford the chair was taken by Mr. McLaughlin.

It was voted to reconsider the action of the council at its meeting of December 29, 1916, by which it was agreed to recommend that the annual meeting of the association of 1918 be held in Minneapolis. It was then voted to recommend to the association: (1) That the meeting be held in Minneapolis: *Provided, however*, That if, in view of the emergency due to the state of war, there appears to the executive council to be a sufficient reason for changing the place of meeting or omitting the meeting altogether, the executive council be authorized to take such action and directed to notify the association of its decision not later than September 1; (2) that if the annual meeting of 1918 is omitted the officers of the association shall continue in office until the next annual meeting of the association; (3) that, except in respect to the adoption of the annual budget, the secretary of the council be authorized to take the votes of the council by mail, when, in the judgment of the president and the secretary, such a procedure is expedient.

On motion of Mr. Dunning, the council adopted the following resolutions respecting the retirement of Mr. Clarence W. Bowen from the treasurership of the association:

Whereas, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen has announced his intention not to accept a renomination for treasurer of the association.

Resolved, That the executive council has heard with deep regret Dr. Bowen's determination to retire from the service that he has so long and usefully performed. For 33 years he has guided the financial administration of the association and has guarded its treasury. In that long period the organization has prospered greatly and has widely extended its activities and influence. Dr. Bowen's unselfish and efficient labors have been a powerful factor in the accomplishment of these ends. Zeal and caution have happily blended in his management of fiscal affairs and in his judgments of the general policy of the organization. The executive council will greatly miss his faithful exhortations to economy, as well as his sympathetic approval of progress. In his well-earned retirement he will be attended by the cordial gratitude and good wishes of all who understand what he has done for the cause of history and the welfare of the American Historical Association.

It was voted that the work of the committee on membership be temporarily assigned to a special committee consisting of the two secretaries with instructions to make a careful study of the whole situation and with authority to add to their number if desired.

It was voted to appoint members of committees and commissions as follows: *Historical manuscripts commission*.—Justin H. Smith (chairman), D. R. Anderson, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt, C. H. Lincoln, M. M. Quaife.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Frederic L. Paxson (chairman), E. S. Corwin, F. H. Hodder, Ida M. Tarbell, Oswald G. Villard.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Ruth Putnam (chairman), C. D. Hazen, R. H. Lord, Louis J. Paetow, Conyers Read.

Public archives commission.—Victor H. Paltsits (chairman), E. C. Barker, Solon J. Buck, John C. Fitzpatrick, G. N. Fuller, George S. Godard, Peter Guilday, Thomas M. Owen.

Committee on bibliography.—George M. Dutcher (chairman), F. A. Golder, Adelaide R. Hasse, William T. Laprade, Albert H. Lybyer, Wallace Notestein, William W. Rockwell, Augustus H. Shearer, Bernard C. Steiner.

Committee on publications (all ex-officio except the chairman).—H. Barrett Learned (chairman), George M. Dutcher, E. B. Greene, J. Franklin Jameson, W. G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Frederic L. Paxson, Ruth Putnam, Justin H. Smith.

Committee on membership.—Work of the committee temporarily assigned to a special committee consisting of the two secretaries, with authority to choose other members.

Committee on history in schools.—J. M. Gambrill (chairman), Victoria A. Adams, Henry L. Cannon, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, J. A. James, D. C. Knowlton, A. C. Krey, Robert A. Maurer, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, R. M. Tryon, J. H. Van Sickle, W. L. Westermann.

Conference of historical societies.—A. H. Shearer, secretary.

Advisory board, History Teacher's Magazine (to serve three years from January 1, 1918).—Henry Johnson (chairman), Margaret McGill.

Member board of editors American Historical Review (to serve six years from January 1, 1918).—Charles H. Haskins.

Committee on program thirty-fourth annual meeting.—Appointments deferred.

Committee on local arrangements.—Appointments deferred.

Special committee on policy.—Carl Becker, W. E. Dodd, G. S. Ford, C. H. Haskins, D. C. Munro. (The committee to choose its own chairman.)

It was voted that the selection of the committee on program and the committee on local arrangements be deferred until March 1.

It was voted that a special committee of three, consisting of Messrs. Munro, Leland, and Greene, be appointed to confer with similar committees of other organizations respecting possible modes of cooperation in national service.

It was voted to authorize the committee on headquarters in London to approve proposals of the London committee respecting the use of those quarters as a reading room for Americans in London.

The secretary presented a communication from Prof. F. J. Teggart in regard to the possibility of cooperation between the American Historical Association and other scientific organizations in securing the continuance of certain forms of scholarly cooperation, interrupted in Europe as a result of conditions during, or immediately preceding, the present war. It was voted to refer this communication to the committee on policy.

The secretary presented a report from Mr. Learned, chairman of the special committee appointed to revise the published announcements of the Winsor and Adams prizes in accordance with the votes of the council of December 1, 1917, embodying a revised statement which was agreed to as follows, for submission to the association:

For the purpose of encouraging historical research the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each prize of \$200—the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Winsor prize is offered in the even years (as heretofore), and the Adams prize in the odd years. Both prizes are designed to encourage writers who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Either prize shall be awarded for an excellent monograph or essay, printed or in manuscript, submitted to or selected by the committee of award. Monographs must be submitted on or before July 1 of the given year. In the case of a printed monograph, the date of publication must fall within a period of two years prior to July 1. A monograph to which a prize has been awarded in manuscript may, if it is deemed in all respects available, be published in the annual report of the association. Competition shall be limited to monographs written or published in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere.

In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression and logical arrangement.

The successful monograph must reveal marked excellence of style. Its subject matter should afford a distinct contribution to knowledge of a sort beyond that having merely personal or local interest. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism. A manuscript—including text, notes, bibliography, appendices, etc.—must not exceed 100,000 words, if designed for publication in the Annual Report of the Association.

The Justin Winsor prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history. The phrase "American history" includes the history of the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere. The monograph may deal with any aspect or phase of that history, as in the case of the Winsor prize.

Inquiries regarding these prizes should be addressed to the chairman of the respective committees, or to the secretary of the association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The council adjourned at 10.30 p. m.

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

**MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE BELLE-
VUE-STRATFORD HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 29, 1917.**

The council met at 5 p. m. Present: Messrs. Bolton, Bourne, Dunning, Harding, Lingelbach, Miss Salmon, and the secretary. In the absence of the president and vice presidents the chair was taken by Mr. Dunning.

It was voted to refer to a special committee consisting of the president and the secretaries a communication from Profs. Edward Channing, William Macdonald, and Herbert E. Bolton, respecting the records of the census office in London.

Certain resolutions presented at the annual meeting of the association by Prof. J. H. Breasted and referred to the executive council for action were, after amendment, agreed to as follows:

In view of the large educational, humanitarian, and missionary interests which American organizations have long maintained within the limits of the Ottoman Empire,

Resolved. That the American historical association empower its president to appoint a committee of three to urge upon the Government of the United States the importance of adequately safeguarding, during the course of any peace negotiations, the future rights and activities of American educational and scientific enterprises in the Ottoman Empire, having in mind especially:

General education for men and women; professional education, including medical schools and hospitals; training in agriculture, forestry, engineering, transportation and road making, economic geology and mining; geological and geographical explorations, scientific surveys, archaeological excavations, and the legitimate interests of American museums.

It is also recommended that a further function of this committee be to provide for the collection and preservation of all available information which would aid the representatives of the United States in securing the ends suggested in the above resolution.

It was voted to request the treasurer to prepare for the consideration of the council a memorandum indicating the methods by which the financial procedure of the association may be brought into conformity with the votes of the association at its annual meeting of December 29, 1916.

Adjourned.

EVARTS B. GREENE,
Secretary of the Council.

Statistics of membership.

I. GENERAL.

	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
Total membership.....	2,843	2,913	2,926	2,739	2,654
Life.....	125	122	120	117	115
Annual.....	2,516	2,578	2,587	2,388	2,318
Institutions.....	202	213	219	234	221
Total paid membership.....	2,490	2,176	2,374	2,378	2,132
Delinquent, total.....	363	737	552	361	522
Since last bill.....	282	610	391	361	508
For one year.....	71	127	161	-----	14
Loss, total.....	316	205	277	431	306
Deaths.....	37	30	32	40	33
Resignations.....	182	102	168	118	96
Dropped.....	97	73	77	273	177
Gain, total.....	313	275	290	244	221
Life.....	1	2	-----	1	1
Annual.....	297	260	277	235	214
Institutions.....	15	13	13	8	6
Total number of elections.....	321	182	273	172	191
Net gain or loss.....	3	70	13	-187	-85

II. BY REGIONS.

	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
New England: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut.....	542	549	511	483	445
North Atlantic: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia.....	821	803	831	810	802
South Atlantic: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida.....	143	153	155	148	149
North Central: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin.....	583	607	600	558	529
South Central: Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia.....	105	109	101	85	90
West Central: Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas.....	280	300	312	275	287
Pacific Coast: Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, Washington, Oregon, California.....	259	276	305	280	258
Territories: Porto Rico, Alaska, Hawaii, Philippine Islands.....	8	11	11	8	5
Other countries.....	102	105	100	86	89
	2,843	2,913	2,926	2,739	2,654

III. BY STATES.

	Decem- ber, 1913.	Decem- ber, 1914.	Decem- ber, 1915.	Decem- ber, 1916.	Decem- ber, 1917.	New members, Dec. 19, 1917.
Alabama.....	14	17	14	10	9	1
Alaska.....	-----	2	2	-----	-----	-----
Arizona.....	2	1	1	2	3	-----
Arkansas.....	11	8	8	4	4	1
California.....	156	167	190	169	158	11
Colorado.....	10	10	13	15	14	-----
Connecticut.....	97	110	100	99	94	3
Delaware.....	2	3	9	12	11	-----
District of Columbia.....	83	85	102	93	86	2
Florida.....	6	5	8	5	6	1
Georgia.....	26	28	23	21	21	4
Hawaii.....	1	1	2	2	-----	-----
Idaho.....	4	4	5	4	5	2
Illinois.....	208	222	224	208	190	6
Indiana.....	61	61	58	61	50	3
Iowa.....	45	52	52	46	43	4
Kansas.....	27	28	37	28	36	10
Kentucky.....	32	32	26	21	24	4
Louisiana.....	25	23	20	19	16	-----
Maine.....	24	24	23	24	21	1
Maryland.....	56	53	50	55	56	1
Massachusetts.....	346	340	319	295	268	4
Michigan.....	96	102	105	95	90	14
Minnesota.....	39	44	48	49	51	5

Statistics of membership—Continued.

III. BY STATES—continued.

	Decem- ber, 1913.	Decem- ber, 1914.	Decem- ber, 1915.	Decem- ber, 1916.	Decem- ber, 1917.	New members, Dec. 19, 1917.
Mississippi.....	10	9	9	6	3	.....
Missouri.....	48	53	50	49	50	4
Montana.....	7	8	10	9	10	.....
Nebraska.....	23	26	31	28	24	1
Nevada.....	4	4	6	5	5	1
New Hampshire.....	30	29	29	29	30	4
New Jersey.....	73	74	85	84	85	8
New Mexico.....	3	3	6	6	8	2
New York.....	404	391	393	383	373	25
North Carolina.....	33	31	30	30	30	2
North Dakota.....	6	5	5	3	4	2
Ohio.....	132	128	122	110	115	13
Oklahoma.....	5	8	12	8	10	2
Oregon.....	31	32	30	24	17	.....
Pennsylvania.....	203	197	192	189	191	26
Philippine Islands.....	5	6	5	4	3	.....
Porto Rico.....	2	2	2	2	2	.....
Rhode Island.....	37	36	30	28	25	.....
South Carolina.....	23	31	33	28	22	1
South Dakota.....	8	7	5	8	5	.....
Tennessee.....	33	37	35	31	31	2
Texas.....	43	46	44	33	41	9
Utah.....	6	7	8	10	12	3
Vermont.....	8	10	10	8	7	.....
Virginia.....	55	48	61	64	70	15
Washington.....	34	35	32	30	23	.....
West Virginia.....	16	14	17	17	23	9
Wisconsin.....	86	94	91	84	84	10
Wyoming.....	2	5	4	6	3	.....
Canada.....	37	38	39	34	33	1
Cuba.....	2	2	2	2	2	.....
South America.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2
Foreign.....	63	65	59	50	52	2
	2,843	2,913	2,926	2,739	2,654	221

**REGISTER OF ATTENDANCE AT THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, PHILADELPHIA.**

A.

Abbott, Frank Frost.	Ambler, Charles H.	Andrews, Mrs. Arthur
Abel, Annie Heloise.	Ames, Herman V.	Irving.
Adams, Ephraim Douglass.	Anderson, Frank Maloy.	Appleton, William W.
Adams, G. B.	Anderson, J. F.	Arragon, Reginald F.
Adams, Victoria A.	Anderson, Mary M.	
Allen, Freeman H.	Andrews, Arthur Irving.	

B.

Bacot, D. Huger, jr.	Bartlett, Marguerite G.	Bowen, Clarence W.
Baird, Andrew Browning.	Bayley, Frank W.	Bradford, John E.
Baird, Mildred.	Becker, Carl.	Brand, Carl Fremont.
Baker, John W.	Bedell, Rev. F. M. C.	Brand, Hon. R. H.
Balch, Thomas Willing.	Belcher, Katharine Fisher.	Brandt, Lida R.
Baldwin, Alice M.	Benton, Elbert J.	Breasted, James H.
Bancroft, Frederic.	Benton, George W.	Brown, Everett Somerville.
Barbour, Violet.	Bond, Beverley W., jr.	Brown, Louise Fargo.
Barker, E. C.	Bevkemeier, Mary Lena.	Brown, Marshall S.
Barlow, Burt E.	Biddle, Edward.	Brown, Samuel H.
Barnes, D. G.	Bieber, Ralph Paul.	Buck, Solon J.
Barnes, Harry E.	Boucher, C. S.	Burnham, Smith.
Barnes, Viola F.	Bourne, H. E.	Byrne, E. H.

C.

Cadwallader, Laura H.	Christian, Asa Kyrus.	Coolidge, Archibald Cary.
Caldwell, Grace F.	Church, Frederic C.	Corwin, Edward S.
Caldwell, Wallace E.	Clark, A. Howard,	Cotterill, R. S.
Callahan, J. M.	Clark, Arthur H.	Coulomb, Charles A.
Carman, Harry J.	Clark, Victor S.	Coulter, E. Merton.
Carpenter, William S.	Clauder, Anna Cornelia.	Cox, Isaac Joslin.
Carter, Clarence E.	Cochran, M. Hermond.	Cox, Laura J.
Chambers, Raymond.	Colvin, Caroline.	Crofts, F. S.
Cheyney, E. P.	Colwell, P. R.	Cunningham, Charles H.
Chitwood, Oliver P.	Connor, R. D. W.	Curtis, Eugene N.

D.

Davenport, Frances G.	Dietz, Frederick C.	Douglas, C. H.
Davis, Alice.	Dilks, Clara G.	Duncalf, Frederic.
Dawson, Edgar.	Dodd, W. F.	Duniway, C. A.
Deats, Hiram E.	Dodd, William E.	Dunning, William A.
Demarest, Elizabeth B.	Donnan, Elizabeth.	Dutcher, George M.
Denoyer, L. Philip.	Doughty, Annie W.	Dutcher, Mrs. George M.

E.

Eddy, William W.	Egan, Joseph M.	Evans, Jessie C.
Edwards, Martha L.		

F.

Farr, Shirley.	Fisk, Harvey E.	Foster, Herbert Darling.
Fay, Frances Marion.	Fite, Emerson D.	Fox, Dixon Ryan.
Fay, Sidney B.	Flippin, Percy Scott.	Fox, George L.
Ferguson, William Scott.	Ford, G. S.	Fox, Leonard P.
Ferry, Nellie Poyntz.	Ford, W. C.	

G.

Gallinger, Herbert P.	Goodykoontz, Colin B.	Greenfield, K. Roberts.
Gallinger, Mrs. H. P.	Gould, Clarence P.	Griffis, William Elliot.
Garwood, L. E.	Gras, Norman S. B.	Grizzell, E. D.
Gerson, Armand J.	Gray, H. L.	Grose, Clyde Leclare.
Gibbons, Lois Oliphant.	Gray, William Dodge.	Guilday, Rev. Peter.
Gilbert, William Elbert.	Greene, Evarts B.	
Golder, F. A.	Greene, Garton S.	

H.

Hall, Clifton R.	Harper, Samuel N.	Hodgdon, Frederick C.
Hamilton, J. G. de R.	Hart, Albert Bushnell.	Hoekstra, Peter.
Hammond, Otis G.	Haskins, Charles H.	Hormell, Orren C.
Hanna, Mary Alice.	Hayes, Carlton J. H.	Howe, Samuel B.
Hannah, Ian C.	Haynes, George H.	Howland, A. C.
Harding, Samuel B.	Hazen, Charles Downer.	Hull, Charles Henry.
Haring, Clarence Henry.	Healy, Patrick J.	Hull, William I.
Harley, Lewis R.	Hearon, Cleo.	Hunt, Agnes.
Harlow, Ralph V.	Heckel, Albert K.	Huttmann, Maude A.
Harper, Mrs. Lillie Du	Hellweg, Edgar D.	
Puy Van Culin.	Henderson, Archibald	

I.

Ingalsbe, Grenville M.	Irish, Florence C.
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J.

James, J. A.	Jenkins, Charles Francis.	Johnson, Allen.
Jameson, John Franklin.	Johns, Clarence D.	Johnston, Robert M.

K.

Kellar, Herbert A.	Kilgore, Carrie B.	Knowlton, Daniel C.
Kelsey, Rayner Wickersham.	King, Charles M.	Kollock, Margaret R.
Kerner, Robert Joseph.	Knapp, Charles M.	Konkle, Burton Alva.
	Knipfing, John R.	

L.

Lamberton, Clark D.	Lincoln, Anna T.	Longacre, Caroline.
Latané, John H.	Lindley, Harlow.	Lord, Eleanor L.
Latourette, K. S.	Lingelbach, William E.	Lough, Susan M.
Lawson, Leonard A.	Lingham, Clarence H.	Lowrey, L. T.
Learned, H. Barrett.	Lingley, Charles R.	Lunt, W. E.
Leland, W. G.	Livermore, Col. W. R.	
Lewis, Caroline.	Logan, John H.	

M.

McConnell, J. Moore.	Magoffin, Ralph V. D.	Montgomery, Thomas
McDonald, James G.	Manning, William R.	Lynch.
Macdonald, Norman.	Marsh, Harriette P.	Morgan, W. T.
McDuffie, Penelope.	Martin, A. E.	Morison, Samuel E.
McGrane, Reginald Chas.	Melchoir, D. Montfort.	Mowbray, R. H.
McGregor, J. C.	Merritt, Elizabeth.	Munro, Alice B.
McKinley, Albert E.	Mims, Stewart L.	Munro, Dana C.
McLaughlin, A. C.	Mitchell, Isabel.	Munro, William Bennett.
McLaughlin, Robert W.	Mitchell, Samuel C.	Musser, John.
MacLear, Anne Bush.	Mohr, Walter H.	Muzzey, David S.
McMaster, John Bach.	Moore, Charles.	Myers, Albert Cook.
McQueen, Alice E.	Moore, Clifford H.	Myers, William Starr.
MacQueen, L. L.	Moore, David R.	
Mace, W. H.	Moore, J. R. H.	

N.

Neely, Thomas B.	Northrop, Amanda Carolyn
Newkirk, Alice M. F. (Mrs. Walter M.)	Notestein, Wallace.

O.

Oberholtzer, Ellis P.	Olmstead, A. T.
Ogg, Frederic A.	Osgood, George W., jr.

P.

Paine, Mrs. Clarence S.	Pierce, Elizabeth D.	Prentice, W. K.
Paltsits, Victor Hugo.	Pitman, Frank W.	Preston, Helen G.
Paullin, C. O.	Pitman, Mrs. Frank W.	Price, Ralph Ray.
Paxson, Frederic L.	Platner, Samuel Ball.	Priddy, Mrs. Bessie Leach.
Perring, Louise F.	Potter, Mary.	Prince, L. Bradford.
Peterson, A. Everett.	Powell, Thomas Reed.	Pulsifer, William E.
Phillips, Paul C.	Prentice, Leigh Wells.	Putnam, Ruth.

R.

Randal, James G.	Richardson, Ernest C.	Robinson, Chalfant.
Randall, Mrs. J. G.	Riley, Franklin L.	Robinson, Morgan P.
Randolph, Bessie Carter.	Risley, A. W.	Rogers, Elizabeth Frances.
Read, Conyers.	Robertson, James A.	Rogers, Robert William.
Renninger, Warren D.	Robertson, Mrs. James A.	Russell, Elmer B.

S.

Salmon, Lucy M.	Shaw, Caroline B.	Soule, Harold W.
Sanford, E. M.	Shearer, Augustus H.	Spofford, Ernest.
Saurwalt, Alma V.	Shipman, Henry R.	Staples, Thomas S.
Schapiro, J. Salwyn.	Shotwell, J. T.	Steeffel, Lawrence D.
Schlesinger, Arthur Meier.	Siebert, Wilbur H.	Steele, Esther C. M.
Schmidt, Louis Bernard.	Sioussat, Mrs. Albert.	Steele, Rev. James Dal-
Schmitt, Bernadotte E.	Sioussat, St. George L.	las.
Schurz, William Lyttle.	Smith, Justin H.	Stephens, F. F.
Schuyler, Livingston R.	Smith, Preserved.	Stevens, Ernest N.
Schuyler, Robt. Livingston.	Smith, R. R.	String, William Paxson.
Scott, Nancy E.	Smith, Theodore Clarke.	Stryker, Florence E. L.
Seal, H. C.	Smith, William Roy.	Sullivan, James.
Seligman, Edwin R. A.	Snow, Alpheus H.	Surrey, N. M. Miller.
Severance, Frank H.	Snowden, Louise Hor-	Sweet, William Warren.
Shambaugh, Benjamin F.	tense.	

T.

Tall, Lida Lee.	Thompson, C. Mildred.	Turner, Edward Ray-
Taylor, Bertha M. B.	Thorndike, Lynn.	mond.
(Mrs. M. Stanton).	Townsend, Mary E.	Turner, Frederick J.
Teggart, F. J.	Townsend, Prescott W.	Turner, Joseph Brown.
Textor, Lucy Elizabeth.	Trimble, William J.	Turner, Morris K.
Thallon, Ida Carlton.	Tryon, R. M.	Tyson, M. A.
Thome, Anna.		

U.

Updyke, Frank A.

V.

Van Nostrand, J. J., jr.	Vaughn, E. V.	Vincent, John Martin.
Van Tyne, C. H.	Villard, Oswald Garrison.	

W.

Walmsley, Jas. Elliott.	Whipple, Mary Ella.	Wilson, Martin L.
Ware, Edith E.	White, Albert B.	Wing, Herbert, jr.
Warfield, Ethelbert D.	White, Fred C.	Wood, William Hamilton.
Wellman, Henry G.	Williams, F. W.	Wriston, Henry M.
Wendell, Hugo C. M.	Williams, Helen W.	
Wertenbaker, T. J.	Williams, Mary Wil-	
Wharton, Anne Hol-	helmine.	
lingsworth.	Wilson, George G.	

Y.

Yeager, William A.	Young, Levi Edgar.	Young, Mary G.
Young, Helen L.		

Z.

Zelqzon, Maurice.	Zook, George F.
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II. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTEENTH
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH
OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

BERKELEY, CAL., NOVEMBER 30-DECEMBER 1, 1917.

By WILLIAM A. MORRIS,
Secretary of the Branch.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF
THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION.

The fourteenth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at the University of California, Berkeley, Friday afternoon, November 30, and Saturday morning and afternoon, December 1, 1917. The morning session convened at 9.30, the afternoon sessions at 2.30, all in room 211, Wheeler Hall. The annual dinner Friday evening and a special luncheon Saturday noon were at the Faculty Club, Prof. H. Morse Stephens, presiding. In the absence of both the president of the Pacific Coast Branch, Prof. Edward B. Krehbiel of Stanford University, and the vice president, Prof. Levi E. Young, of the University of Utah, Prof. Payson J. Treat, of Stanford University, was called to the chair for the first regular session, and Profs. Ephraim D. Adams and Arley B. Show, of Stanford University, for the second and third sessions, respectively.

At the opening of the Friday afternoon session it was voted, on motion of Prof. Stephens, that the good wishes of the Pacific Coast Branch be telegraphed to Dr. C. W. Bowen, now retiring from his office as treasurer of the American Historical Association after a long period of service. The first paper of the afternoon was presented by Prof. Richard F. Scholz, of the University of California. It was entitled "The Foundations of Cæsarism and the Republican Tradition in Europe," and gave a new interpretation of the noted Ancyra inscription relative to the deeds of Augustus. Prof. Scholz held that the *res gestae* of this inscription is in theory an account of the principate of Augustus justifying its constitutional acts; that the posthumous deification of Augustus gave authorization and approval to these acts; and that deification thus preserves the republican tradition of the responsibility of the princeps to the Roman people. Mention was made of the fact that Tiberius was adopted *rei publicae causa*. For final ratification the will of Augustus was dependent on the senate, the representatives of the Roman people, legal authorization being attained after Augustus's death. The first temple to the new imperial cult was erected at Ancyra in 29 A. D., and this inscription was recovered from its wall. The conclusions reached were: (1) That the *res gestae* is a report of the princeps to the senate; (2) that it was ratified by the act of deification; (3) and that the deeds therein recounted were a sufficient justification

for apotheosis. The speaker held that the document deals solely with the public acts of Augustus and that all other persons mentioned stood in line of succession after him, their relationship in each case being specified. The arrangement of the three main sections is topical, not chronological. In the view of Prof. Scholz this is the fundamental document which established Caesarism.

Prof. Charles W. Spencer, of the University of Nevada, in the paper which followed spoke on "Tendencies toward independence in the early eighteenth century." By the way of introduction he showed that contemporaries believed something to be amiss in the relations between England and her colonies and that the difficulty has usually been sought in the absence of machinery of representation in a common assembly, a situation which surrounded imperial interests with an atmosphere of mere bargaining. The scheme for mutual understanding implied mutual benefits. In their local struggles the colonies were not engaging in constitutional calisthenics, developing strength for liberty, but merely bargained for local advantage. Passing to his main theme, the speaker stated that there were difficulties quite apart from those inhering in the question of the injustice of the system itself. The agencies for the enforcement in America of the acts of trade and navigation were absolutely inadequate. Under the defects of the administrative system it was inevitable that incidents of an oppressive and blackmailing nature should arise. Some of these were cited, and it was maintained that they gave the impression of capriciousness. It is a question how far they figured in the interminable struggle of governors and assemblies, but in the crisis of the period 1709-1715 the conduct of New Yorkers was regarded in Great Britain as evincing dangerous separatist tendencies.

In an address, the last of the session, bearing the title "England and America," Prof. Oliver H. Richardson, of the University of Washington, spoke of the importance of an appreciation of the work of England and of cementing friendly relations. He stated that England, the founder of the first constitution, stands as the champion of democracy. She has given representative government and liberty enshrined in the common law. Four times in 400 years Europe has been threatened with the establishment of universal monarchy. The Armada, La Hogue, and Blenheim and Trafalgar worked the defeat of such attempts. Great Britain first established freedom of the seas. Never since Cromwell has she sought to be a military nation. She has not taken neutral lives nor sunk neutral ships. She seeks to solve her own particular problem, but it is at the same time the problem of the world. We owe Great Britain respect and a fair representation of her history.

After the conclusion of this address, the chairman announced the personnel of committees on nomination, resolutions, and auditing.

Dr. James A. Robertson spoke on behalf of the American Hispanic Historical Review, the first number of which is soon to appear, and the secretary spoke in the interest of the American Historical Association. Adjournment was then taken.

At the annual dinner in the evening the president's address in his absence was deferred to a later session. An unusual number of distinguished visitors being present, they were welcomed in brief addresses by Prof. Stephens, who presided, and by Prof. E. D. Adams. Those who were called upon and responded were Prof. William M. Sloane, of Columbia University, delegate of the American Historical Association; Prof. Edward Channing, of Harvard University; Dr. E. L. Stevenson, of New York; Prof. William Macdonald, formerly of Brown University; and Prof. Bernard Moses, of the University of California. The attendance at the dinner, 63, was unusually large.

The opening paper of the Saturday morning session was presented by Prof. Franklin D. Daines, of the Utah State Agricultural College, and dealt with "Separatism in Utah, 1847-1870."¹ After explaining that under Joseph Smith the right of supreme direction in ecclesiastical and temporal affairs had already been established by the head of the Mormon Church, and showing how the Mormon belief in continuous revelation both divine and satanic was accountable for a tendency to regard all opposition as satanic, Prof. Daines spoke of the relations of the Utah pioneers with the United States Government. Having sought asylum for their people where there were none but savages to trouble them, their leaders believed that isolation was necessary to recruit their strength and declared that for this 10 years were necessary. It was in this period that their judicial, military, and ecclesiastical institutions were perfected.

The Mormons, according to the speaker, were not disappointed at being in the jurisdiction of the United States, as Brigham Young had expected this. His original aim was local self-government during a brief period of exile until they might return to Missouri. Both he and his followers held the Federal Government responsible for their ills in Missouri and Illinois and believed in the satanic opposition of the United States. The Mormons asserted that the United States had no right to send officials to govern them. In 1856 Young said they were bound to become either a sovereign State in the Union or independent. The sending of an army by Buchanan in 1857 increased bitterness of feeling in Utah. Prof. Daines held that during the Civil War the Mormons were loyal, but their loyalty needs interpretation, being that toward an ideal government nowhere in existence. In 1862 was adopted a constitution for the

¹ Printed in the present volume.

State of Deseret. This was in operation six years, its legislature solemnly adopting the laws passed by the Territorial Legislature of Utah. With the approach of the railway, concern over the entering of new influences led to the boycotting of merchants and the adoption of Zion's Mercantile Association.

In his paper, "A forgotten pioneer of American history, John Gilmary Shea," Rev. Joseph M. Gleason, of Palo Alto, dealt chiefly with Shea's activities in relation to the history of French missions. A paper of O'Callahan's in 1847 first called his attention to the importance of the Jesuit Relations. Shea had mastered Spanish in a mercantile house and French was spoken in his own home. After spending five years in a theological seminary before he realized that he was not intended for the priesthood, he married. At the age of 29 he brought out his first work. From 1852 until his death in 1892 not a single year passed without the publication of one of his articles or books. Not only was he very active in preparing for publication the noted set of Jesuit Relations collected by the Lenox Library and covering the years 1632-1672, but he traced manuscript material later than 1672 and published it in 25 little volumes, soliciting subscriptions for one at a time to finance the publication of the next one. The pioneer work of men like Shea and O'Callahan has never received due credit, although Thwaites gave them appreciation for the edition of the Jesuit Relations published by the Quebec Government.

Shea's work is also illustrated in his edition of Miller's account of New York province and city, in which he brought out many unknown facts. His book on the Catholic missions, 1529-1855, is the standard one on the subject. His work on the Spanish side is quite as important as that on the French side. He realized the importance of preserving the Indian languages before it was too late and was willing to undertake the work which Treubner of London took off of his hands. Among the native languages of the Pacific coast which he has preserved are those of the lower Santa Clara Valley, the Yakima language and those of British Columbia. In the year of his death Shea brought out the fourth of the five projected volumes of his history of the Catholic Church in America. He was the founder of the Catholic Historical Society of the United States, and was among the first to place the missionary of the exploration period in his proper place among historical workers.

The third paper of the morning was that of Prof. Percy A. Martin, of Stanford University, whose topic was "The influence of the United States on the opening of the Amazon River to the world's commerce."¹ Prof. Martin, after stating that lack of knowledge of the Amazon and its tributaries from 1500 to 1900 was due partly to the jealously exclusive policy of Brazil and partly to the slow begin-

¹ Printed in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* for May, 1918.

nings of steam navigation in the interior water of South America, proceeded to outline the relations of the United States to the question for some two decades prior to the opening of the Amazon. Secretary Clayton was balked in an attempt to send a ship to explore the Amazon, and two lieutenants of the Navy, Herndon and Gibbon, were in 1852 sent to Peru to explore its upper waters. The publication of their report had a decided influence, but these beginnings bore no immediate fruit because of the opposition of the Brazilian Government. A Peruvian-Brazilian treaty in 1854 restricted the use of the Amazon to the use of the citizens of these two Governments. An account was given of the activities of Lieut. Maury, superintendent of the Hydrographic Office, who was influenced to take up the matter by the report of Herndon and Gibbon, and through whose influence was held at Memphis a convention which adopted a bombastic memorial declaring that the opening of the river was essential to the prosperity of the United States. This was followed by propaganda in the Washington press which Herndon published under a pseudonym. Its republication in Brazil appeared to confirm Portuguese suspicions and to prove that the United States entertained schemes of annexation. From that time it was impossible to negotiate a treaty with Brazil. The extended notice given the matter in one of President Pierce's messages shows the hold it had taken on the popular mind. In conclusion were presented the steps by which after 1860 the Brazilian Government was led to open the river to the world's commerce.

In an address on "The collection of war materials," State Librarian Milton J. Ferguson, of Sacramento, described the library facilities soon to be created by the erection of new buildings at Sacramento and spoke of the gathering of war materials such as bulletins, magazines, and propaganda of the various belligerent powers as well as publications of the various departments of the United States Government.

After a brief intermission a business session was called to order with Prof. E. D. Adams in the chair. The auditing committee, consisting of Lieut. L. P. Jackson and Rev. Joseph Gleason, reported that they had inspected the vouchers and other records of expenditure made by the secretary-treasurer and had found them in good order. The report was adopted.

The committee on resolutions, Edgar E. Robinson, T. C. Knoles, and F. D. Daines, subsequently reported resolutions, which were adopted, asserting the appreciation of the Pacific coast branch of the world situation, with the United States a participant in the war for democracy, and pledging the members to serve the Nation in every way in its hour of need; expressing the gratitude of the branch to the University of California for acting as host on this occasion

and especially to the committee on arrangements, Dr. Priestley and Dr. Leebrick, for their efforts on behalf of the comfort and pleasure of those in attendance; extending thanks to the program committee for the very enjoyable papers and discussions provided, and to the several readers for service so well performed; and expressing pleasure that the sessions had been graced by the attendance of so many visitors from the parent association.

Prof. H. E. Bolton, chairman of the committee on the bibliography of Pacific coast history, reported that the members of the committee had provided him with but little information as to local materials and funds available, but that the general task is clearly immense, involving some work in the East as well as in the West. He further reported that the main undertaking is that of finding funds, and estimated the cost of necessary labor at from \$10,000 to \$20,000. Since the bibliography committee of the parent society has no funds for its own work, considerable aid from the parent society is out of the question. Some bibliographical work is already being done in the Bancroft Library. California materials in publications are being listed by Dr. Chapman, who is also listing published articles on Latin America. Another bibliography, that on early western travels, is being prepared by Mr. Hill, and still another, covering recent materials on Mexico, by the Mexican Commission. The chairman suggested that parts of this work be published in the reports of the American Historical Association and that, if continued, the committee may organize work and seek funds. This report of progress was accepted, and the committee as constituted was continued.

The committee on nominations, of which H. E. Bolton was chairman, associated with whom as members were E. D. Adams, O. H. Richardson, C. W. Spencer, and R. G. Cleland, reported the following named as officers for the ensuing year:

For president, Rev. Joseph M. Gleason.

For vice president, Oliver H. Richardson.

For secretary-treasurer, William A. Morris.

For the council, in addition to the above, R. C. Clark, Edward Maslin Hulme, Waldemar C. Westergaard, and Miss Edna H. Stone.

On motion, the nominations were closed and the secretary instructed to cast the ballot for these nominees, who were declared elected. Prof. E. B. Krehbiel was elected delegate of the Pacific coast branch to attend the meeting of the council of the parent association at its approaching meeting at Philadelphia. Under the head of new business it was voted that a committee of the Pacific coast branch be appointed by the new council to cooperate with the California State Library in giving direction to local agencies for the collection of war materials. The meeting then adjourned.

After a luncheon, at which the speaker was Prof. William M. Sloane, of Columbia University, the afternoon session was called to order and Prof. E. E. Robinson read the annual address of the president, Prof. Krehbiel, reading of which was postponed from the previous evening.¹ The title of the address was "The European commission of the Danube," and it dealt with the organization and work of this body from 1856 to the outbreak of the present European war. The working principle was shown to be cooperation as contrasted with the usual rivalry of ambassadors. The conclusion reached was that an international administrative agent is the most effective means of bridging the gap between nations. A Hague legislature would have an exceedingly difficult task, but an administrative body would not have to lay down coordinated rules to control the whole world. An administrative agent has all the advantage of the common law known to England and escapes the codified law of the continent.

The regular program of the teachers' session for the afternoon was then taken up. The general question for consideration was one under investigation by a commission of the California High School Teachers' Association, and bore on the European history covered by high-school students, whose course can include but one year in the European field.

The first paper was presented by Miss Jane E. Harnett, of the Long Beach High School, the chairman of the commission. Miss Harnett showed from incomplete statistical returns of an investigation made by the commission and covering the cases of 4,787 graduates of California high schools in the year 1917, that 45 per cent had studied two years of European history, 28 per cent one year only, and that 27 per cent had studied no European history. The problem was found to be more acute in cities and in schools establishing the newer vocational courses. Of the high-school students who had studied but one year of European history, 888 had either ancient history or the new combined course, 299 medieval and modern history, 71 English, and 72 general history. The greater demand for a one-year course comes from southern California. The main objections offered to such a course are the probability of its drawing students who would otherwise take a two-year course and the impossibility of adequately teaching European history in one year. The problem of the student who takes one year is bound up with that of the student who takes none. Miss Harnett suggested, (1) that there is no possibility of requiring all high-school students to take two years of European history; (2) that the question to be settled is that of a more satisfactory arrangement of a course for one-year students; (3) that this raises the issue of the possibility of the real

¹ Published in the *Political Science Quarterly*, XXXII, 38-55, March, 1918.

profitableness of a one-year course; (4) that history is to be considered as a life current, explaining the problems of the present.

Miss Harnett held that the ordinary citizen can not have an education which will permit his drawing on the facts at his command. Curiosity in the past must be awakened and the student stimulated to the utmost use of his powers. He is to feel that the problems of the present are his, and must search in the past for these currents. The one-year course, therefore, can not be a mere condensation of the two-year course. The problem must be one tracing something of present-day interest. No fixed course can be mapped out, for this depends upon interest and the ability of the teacher to direct. The child can best learn to marshal facts through the problem method and the socializing of the recitation. This kind of one-year course is likely to lead to several one-year courses. As to the question of text books, it may be said that several will be required as well as the library. But one must not look to a text-book to give him conclusions worked out.

In the paper which followed, Miss Agnes E. Howe, of the State Normal School, San Jose, also gave statistics showing that a large number of high-school students take no history beyond the first year. She held that there is too much of the question and answer method based on the textbook, and that almost the only faculty developed is memory. Attention was urged to the needs of the large percentage who have to earn their own living. A one-year course of biographical studies on interesting subjects was suggested, but it was held that teaching ability must be the determining factor in making the selection.

The discussion which followed the presentation of these papers and which preceded adjournment was spirited. The secretary held that whatever need the larger schools found for experiment with new high-school courses such as Miss Harnett advocated, it is not practicable in the smaller and many of the medium-sized schools and should not be recommended to schools of the type wherein the qualifications of the history teacher are of necessity uncertain. Prof. Show regarded such a course to be current events with an historical background; applying to high-school work the method of historical research. He did not believe that the demand for change came from the history people, nor that a scrappy course would take the place of a steady diet. He held that the ordinary high-school student is as much interested in Julius Caesar as in Abraham Lincoln, and objected to history teaching from the standpoint of our own lives as self-centered in conception, whereas immersion in the life of the past would bring enlargement of life. Subsequently he stated that the type of history advocated went out about

1830, and in answer to a question as to whether decline of interest in history in schools is not due to failure of the old type of course, said that he attributed it in considerable part to new and mistaken views of history.

Prof. Bolton reaffirmed the view that what is more remote is sometimes more practical. Dr. T. J. Jones, of the Bureau of Education, protested against the conception of facts for facts' sake and urged that facts be selected to meet the needs of the pupils. Prof. E. J. McCormac urged that history in schools is too often just "one thing after another" and that pupils should be taught to do intelligent thinking. He held that good teachers should be permitted to do the type of work advocated by Miss Harnett. Mr. J. G. Iliff of the Stockton High School discounted the emphasis on the necessity of a superior teacher for this type of work, and, after describing the course which he gives in American history, denied that he was teaching current events. Dr. K. C. Leebrick asserted that the important question is whether students have been taught to think, and held that history taught by the newer methods is the better preparation for college work. Prof. W. S. Thomas, school examiner for the University of California, also emphasized the needs of children, holding that facts are worthless unless worked into life. He stated that the teaching of history is nearly dead and that children's power to think has been damaged by high-school methods. Prof. T. C. Knoles objected to teaching ninth and tenth-grade students what their teachers learned in college, and Lieut. L. P. Jackson advocated the necessity of working to scale whatever the time allowed and whatever the period covered.

III. EIGHTEENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES
COMMISSION, WITH APPENDIXES.

DECEMBER 27, 1917.

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476 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

DECEMBER 27, 1917.

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:

The public archives commission of the American Historical Association has the honor to submit its report for the year 1917.

The report of the commission for 1916 was transmitted to the publication committee in season and is in press. With the publication of this report, there will be available several more chapters treating of phases of the science of archives. These and those that have appeared in former reports make an almost complete series of tentative presentations toward the proposed "Primer." The commission judges that it may well rest its labors at this stage and await future developments, under more propitious circumstances, for bringing the proposed work to completion in its final form.

Prof. Thomas Maitland Marshall, formerly of the University of Idaho, and now of the department of history in the University of Colorado, was appointed an adjunct member of the commission for 1917. He has prepared a "Report on the public archives of Idaho," which forms Appendix B of the commission's report. His survey was confined to the archives in the old and the new capitol buildings at Boise. No attempt was made to examine the records of the various State institutions; but for the assistance of investigators a list of the institutions is included. Likewise, boards and commissions whose records are not at Boise have been listed.

Prof. Charles Edward Chapman, of the University of California, made in 1916 a partial survey of a number of important archives of South America, including Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Lima. The results he embodied in an article on "South America as a field for an historical survey." This article forms an appendix to the report of the public archives commission for 1916. It has also been printed as Document X in a pamphlet entitled: "A Californian in South America," of which only 200 copies were issued for private distribution.

The State of California, under the auspices of The California Historical Survey Commission, has been making a survey of the county archives. It has already issued a "Preliminary Report," which is divided into three parts. The first part gives a general account of the work done by the commission to November, 1916; the other parts relate to the county archives. The work of the Arkansas Historical Commission is set forth in its "Publications" for 1917. Its aims are defined in Bulletin, pp. 21-23. A new Georgia Historical

Association was organized at Atlanta, on April 10, 1917, of which Dr. R. P. Brooks, of the University of Georgia, is secretary-treasurer. In the published proceedings of its first annual session are several sections of archival interest, such as "The Condition of Georgia's Archives," by Mrs. Maud Barker Cobb; "Georgia's Most Vital Need: A Department of Archives," by Lucian L. Knight; and a "Check List of Georgia Archival Material in Certain Offices of the State Capitol," by Mrs. Cobb. During the past summer the Michigan Historical Commission began a survey of the State archives in the executive department¹ at Lansing; and a survey of the county archives is to be undertaken during the summer of 1918.

It appears that the legislature of Michigan has appropriated the generous sum of \$800,000 for a new State building, in which the Michigan Historical Commission will have offices and accommodations for its records, including the centralization of the State archives and for a pioneer museum. The substantial new building provided for the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul has been completed and occupied.

A self-appointed body of citizens prepared a very informing "Report on the condition of the public records of the State of New Jersey," which was used in an endeavor to secure legislation during the winter of 1917. This report has been reprinted as an appendix to the public archives commission's report for 1916, with the consent of our publication committee and by permission of the New Jersey committee.

A conference of archivists, the eighth in succession, was organized for Thursday afternoon, December 27, in connection with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. The proceedings of this conference are printed herewith as Appendix A.

Although nearly every State legislature was in session in the year 1917, the amount of legislation enacted, affecting archives, was small. The following laws, exclusive of sundry enactments defining the nature of proceedings to be made matters of record, represent the total of archival legislation during 1917:

ARIZONA.

Chapter 18, house bill 43. Approved March 6, 1917. Act providing for the destruction of the records of the juvenile courts, under certain restrictions. Records to be destroyed after the expiration of the period for which the defendant has been placed on probation, or within two years after his discharge, except where he has been, within this period, convicted of any offense against the laws of this or any other State.

¹The results have since been printed in the *Michigan History Magazine*, vol. 2, pp. 238-256.

COLORADO.

Chapter 104, senate bill 115. Approved April 21, 1917. Providing that photographic copies of records be deemed recording.

DELAWARE.

Chapter 80. Approved April 19, 1917. Act amending section 24 of chapter 49 of the revised code relating to coroner's records. Coroners ordered to keep a record, character of which is described, and to index same. Record to be delivered by the coroner to his successor.

FLORIDA.

Chapter 7335. Approved June 1, 1917. Act amending sections 1831 and 1832 of general statutes relating to keeping of circuit court records. Kind and character of records to be kept by the clerks of the circuit courts, with specific provision that all must be indexed.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Chapter 19. Approved February 21, 1917. Act relative to the manner in which records of cities and towns shall be kept. Defining the words "in books" where they relate to records as not prohibiting the keeping of the record in separate or loose leaves, provided same are afterwards bound in permanent book form.

MISSOURI.

Chapter 101. Revised statutes 1909. Approved April 10, 1917. Amending by adding a section, to be known as 10432a, to chapter 101, providing that whenever records are to be transcribed into new books, or rebound, that photographic copies of same shall be deemed transcribing, and may be bound as such transcribed records.

For the year 1917, the executive council appropriated \$50 as a budget for the public archives commission. As a report on the Idaho archives could be secured only if arrangements were made at once with Prof. Marshall, the chairman of the commission requested him to proceed. Prof. Marshall's expenses amounted to \$75, and he waited several months to be reimbursed. It was only through an additional grant in October of \$40, by transfer from the committee on publications on authorization of the executive council, that the public archives commission was able to certify the payment of Prof. Marshall's outlay. The total budget of the commission was therefore \$90, of which \$75 went for the Idaho report; for typewriting the report of 1916, and carbons, \$2.85; for postage used, \$1.85; for postage in advance, \$3—a total of \$82.70; leaving a balance unexpended of \$7.30.

The chairman of the commission was offered two contributions of money, but deemed it inadvisable to accept them without authorization by the executive council. This raises a question in finance. Could not provision be made by the executive council for the acceptance of voluntary contributions for special objects, so that these contributions may be paid over to the treasurer of the association, to be held by him as an addition to the budget for the particular object for which the money has been designated by the donor or donors? It is conceivable that funds may be made available in this manner for work that can not now be carried on and for which there is a sound basis in need and demand.

Respectfully submitted.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,
CLARENCE W. ALVORD,
SOLON J. BUCK,
JOHN C. FITZPATRICK,
GEORGE N. FULLER,
GEORGE S. GODARD,
PETER GUILDAY,
THOMAS M. OWEN.

APPENDIX A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

The Eighth Annual Conference of Archivists was held in the hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, Pa., on Thursday afternoon, December 27, 1917. The program, which follows, was carried out successfully. About 50 persons were in attendance.

PROGRAM.

Chairman, Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York City.

General subject: "The preservation and collection of war records."

"The archives of the war," Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C.

"The archives of the United States Food Administration as historical sources," Everett S. Brown, U. S. Food Administration, Washington, D. C.

"The collection of Catholic war records," Rev. Peter Guilday, Catholic University of America.

Discussion: R. M. Johnston, Harvard University; R. D. W. Connor, North Carolina Historical Commission; Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois; Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society; James Sullivan, New York State Historian; George N. Fuller, Michigan Historical Commission, and others.

The CHAIRMAN. The conference will please come to order. I think it might be desirable to state to those who are in the habit of looking for the annual report of the public archives commission, that the last report issued was for 1914. The report for 1915 has been, for a long time, in the hands of the Government Printing Office at Washington. The latter report of the commission contains a report on the public archives of California, a report on the public archives of Vermont, and other matters. I am assured by the secretary of the American Historical Association that as soon as the congestion in the Government Printing Office is over, this material will be in the hands of the members of the association. The report for 1916, which contains the account of the conference held last December, in Cincinnati, embraces papers on the restoration and repair of manuscripts, by Mr. Berwick; on the housing of archives, by the architect in the Federal architect's office, and other materials that were presented then, or held in the traveling bag of the chairman, detained for many hours on the way to Cincinnati.

This report will also contain a reprint of an interesting report made particularly for legislative uses in the State of New Jersey, and which describes the condition and vicissitudes of the archives in that

State. The report for 1917 is expected to contain the proceedings of this conference, and a report on the public archives of the State of Idaho, by Prof. Marshall.

We come now to the conference of to-day. The general subject is "The preservation and collection of war records." It was felt that a body like the public archives commission, serving as the agent of that greater body of American historical scholarship, represented in the American Historical Association, should not fail to signalize in this conference the great need of preserving the official documents and papers produced by Government, whether Federal, State, or local, as well as by those extra-official bodies which in times like these associate themselves with the necessary welfare of the Government, and so you will see on the program that various phases of this subject are to be presented by those who have given thought to particular problems, and who are able to suggest to us, representing different centers of gravity in the Nation, ideas that may be carried home and put into practice. It gives me pleasure, therefore, to announce as the one who is to present the first paper on the archives of the war, the secretary of the American Historical Association, who is also the secretary of the national board for historical service. I present Mr. Leland.

THE ARCHIVES OF THE WAR.¹

By WALDO G. LELAND.

It is my purpose this afternoon to call your attention especially to the desirability of immediate provision for the preservation of all the official records of the war activities of the country—national, state, and local. I shall confine this paper chiefly to the official records, or archives in the strictest sense of the word, because this is a gathering of official archivists, and because the problem of collecting and preserving the many varieties of nonofficial material is to be discussed at another conference.

One has only to make a hasty survey of the national and state archives for the periods of our earlier wars to discover how incomplete they are. The published "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion" seem indeed to be measurably complete so far as military operations are concerned, but when it comes to making a study of the economic and social history of the Civil War the historian is obliged to go far afield in his search for sources. It is, of course, true that at the present time there are many agencies of the National Government which not only did not exist, but were not even dreamed of in 1861; and we should hardly expect to find as great a variety of official records for the earlier period when government was less complex, and when war was not so much the mobilization of an entire nation as it is to-day.

It may be expected as a matter of course that the records of the executive departments and permanent offices of the National Government will be as carefully preserved for the present war period as at any time during the last decade. They are protected by law from unauthorized destruction and we may look with confidence therefore to having access at some future time to the complete records of the departments of State, Treasury, Interior, Agriculture, Justice, Commerce, Labor, War, and Navy, and the other regular establishments. All of these will have masses of records bearing most directly upon the war. The Department of Agriculture, for example, will have the records of its efforts to stimulate the production of food crops; the Department of the Interior will, to mention a single instance,

¹ The manuscript of Mr. Leland's paper having been lost, the text here printed represents a rewriting of the article.

have the records of the Bureau of Mines, which is cooperating with the Army in the production of gas for the chemical warfare service. The Department of State already has the records of our administration of the interests of most of the belligerents before we ourselves entered the war. The Department of Labor will have, in the records of the employment service, most valuable material on the enlistment and distribution of labor in the war industries. In the Department of Justice the Bureau of Special Investigation, or the "Secret Service" as it is now popularly designated, is accumulating masses of material and reports respecting the activities of alien enemies and other suspected persons, in comparison with which the corresponding records for the Civil War in the Department of State are insignificant. In the Treasury Department will be found not only the records of the successive Liberty loans, but the archives of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance; while the Department of Commerce, through its Bureau of Domestic and Foreign Commerce, gathers information of all sorts relating to commercial conditions.

By no means of secondary interest will be the records of the temporary war boards and administrations. None of these comes nearer to the everyday life of the Nation than the Food Administration, the historical value of whose records will be described to you by Mr. Brown. The Shipping Board, engaged in one of the most spectacular and gigantic enterprises ever undertaken by any government, will have archives that will doubtless be a favorite hunting ground of the historian for many years. The Council of National Defense with its hundreds of committees engaged in an effort to effect the complete economic and industrial mobilization of the Nation, is accumulating records of a sort never before brought together, which should throw a flood of light upon the country's resources and manufactures; especially is this true of the records of the War Industries Board. The Committee on Public Information has in its files letters by the hundred thousand, from all parts of the country, which illustrate the state of public sentiment and the reaction of individuals to the conditions of war. Other organizations and offices, such as the Red Cross, the Fuel Administration, the War Trade Board, and the Alien Property Custodian, need only to be mentioned to suggest the nature and value of their archives.

The military and naval records of the war are in a class by themselves. The records of the local draft boards alone will contain such a mass of detailed information respecting millions of men of draft age that we shall undoubtedly be able to have a far better and more accurate picture of ourselves in the years 1917 and 1918 than it has ever, until now, been possible to draw. Already we are realizing unpleasant facts with regard to illiteracy, disease, and physical

defects, which are as astonishing as they are distressing to a people that has prided itself on its intelligence and on its hardy manhood.

It is earnestly to be hoped that in the reorganization of the General Staff, now being effected, some place may be found for an historical section or branch which shall insure the proper collection and organization of the military records and, if possible, their speedy utilization for historical purposes. It is already clear that the military records alone will present a problem in storage of unexampled magnitude. It is hardly too much to expect that the accumulation for the war period of records in the War Department, the cantonments, the American Expeditionary Forces, the draft boards, etc., will greatly exceed the previous accumulation of 120 years. The absolute necessity, therefore, for an archive building becomes more apparent than ever.

There is a class of records, not governmental in origin, but national in scope and of great importance, that should be carefully preserved. These are records of semi-public organizations, such as the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the American Library Association, etc., which are charged by the Government with the performance of certain functions. Other organizations, devoted to educational propaganda, such as the American Security League, must possess records which will be of great service to the student in estimating the spirit of the times. The National Board for Historical Service, to mention a minor example, has files of correspondence with members of the historical profession in all parts of the country, and these letters, many of them of considerable length, contain interesting and valuable observations with respect to public sentiment and educational needs.

Turning to the archives of the States and their subdivisions, we find accumulations of records that constitute an invaluable supplement to the records of the National Government. The State Councils of Defense, with their subordinate county councils, deal with all phases of State and local war activity and their records should be carefully preserved. States in which cantonments are located come into close contact with the organization of the military forces, and this should be reflected in the records of the adjutant general's office, as well as in those of other departments of the State government. State employment services are cooperating with the national service in securing labor for war industries and State departments of agriculture are actively engaged in stimulating production and in increasing the acreage under cultivation. The policy of the National Government decentralizing many activities has resulted in the closest cooperation between National and State Governments, rendering the records of the latter of even more than usual importance at the present time.

It is encouraging to note the very general tendency on the part of State historical agencies to take active measures for the collection and preservation of all kinds of material that may serve to record and illustrate the war activities of the States and local communities. As these measures have to do quite as much with the collection of nonofficial material, which would otherwise be hopelessly lost after a few years, as with the preservation of official records, I should wander beyond the prescribed limit of my subject were I to describe them at any length. A few typical cases should, however, be noted. The State historian of New York has sent circulars to the clerks of all counties, cities, towns, and villages calling upon them to make a special effort to collect material illustrating war history of their respective communities:

To county, city, town, village clerks:

The present war affords an excellent opportunity for you to gather and keep written and printed material relating to the activities of the citizens of your community in their relation to the war, whether these activities are carried on by individuals, committees, or other groups. If such material is not gathered now, the history of the part played by your locality in the war and in preparation for it is likely to be lost.

Will you not, therefore, take the initiative in this matter and either on your own account or as the member of an organized committee take steps to accumulate the following, in so far as they relate to the war:

(1) Documents: Official, such as municipal ordinances, proclamations of mayors, notices of boards, etc.; semiofficial, resolutions of public meetings, labor unions, church societies, etc.; issued by public service corporations, announcements, notices, orders, etc.

(2) Posters (recruiting and other), programs of concerts, meetings, fairs, price lists, advertisements.

(3) Propaganda material.

(4) Clippings from local newspapers, pamphlets.

(5) Photographs or prints of local events, soldiers, bodies of troops, etc.

(6) Manuscript material, letters, diaries, sermons, addresses.

(7) Miscellaneous.

You may file these collections in your own archives or forward them to this division for preservation.

We hope that you will take action along these lines and let us know when you have done so. We also express the wish that if you have any suggestion to make to this office you will feel free to do so.

Very truly, yours,

JAMES SULLIVAN,

*Director, Division of Archives and History,
State Department of Education, Albany, N. Y.*

The Council of Defense of the State of Washington has organized a Department of Historical Service which has asked the County Council of Defense to organize a War History Committee in each county and has published the following circular of suggestions:

[State Council of Defense, Department of Historical Service, Edmond S. Meany, Seattle.]

UNIVERSITY STATION,
SEATTLE, WASH., 24 October, 1917.

HISTORICAL SERVICE DURING THE WAR.

The National Board for Historical Service, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., has appealed to the State Council of Defense for cooperation in the State of Washington. In response to this appeal, the State Council of Defense, through the County Councils of Defense and such other volunteer agencies as are available, will undertake the work as outlined.

Every veteran of the American Civil War has long realized how important would have been the service if each county had saved the records of enlistments, drafts, battles, casualties, and evidences of public opinion from the beginning to the end of the war. Such work would have served not only to satisfy a wholesome public interest in such events during the time of conflict and for the years immediately following, but such records would have sufficed to answer important questions for many years thereafter. They would also have aided in making more accurate and more vital the national history and, above all, they would have been of immense value in any crisis like the present.

By earnest cooperation it is now possible for the State of Washington to join with the other States of the Union in accomplishing this important national work for the present and for the future. Each county should have a committee of at least three persons who are willing to give freely the long and patient hours necessary. The local newspapers, always patriotic, may surely be counted upon for assistance to the limit of their abilities.

The County Councils of Defense are being asked to name a war history committee in each county. These committees will then be expected to go back at least to the time of the declaration of war, April, 1917, and collect every record, such as newspaper clippings, photographs, letters, manuscripts, posters, and other evidences of possible historical value.

As the records are gathered they should be placed for permanent preservation in the most adequate and most central public library within the county. This will keep the collections closest to the home folks of those who make the records on distant land or sea or in the air. If any county should have no adequate library as place of deposit, the State University of Washington will gladly volunteer to render that part of the service.

The following suggestions may be of assistance to those who undertake the work:

CLIPPINGS.

Whenever a clipping of article or editorial is made from a newspaper or magazine, be sure to attach to it at once the name of the paper and its date, as very essential parts of the record. In order to give sequence to the collection, it would be well to keep the clippings in some receptacle until you feel that you have a proper beginning. Since many newspapers print large and valuable illustrations, it would be well to choose large sheets, preferably of tough manila paper, on which to paste the clippings, with the name and date of the paper neatly attached. When the collection is completed these sheets, uniform of course in size, can be bound in permanent form.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

Each photograph should have written on its back at once as full information as possible. Brief titles may be used if the pictures are to be placed in albums or frames, but for ultimate value the fuller record on the back should not be omitted.

POSTERS AND PROGRAMS.

This form of record is probably more elusive than any of the others. They seem so plentiful and common at the time that few think of saving them. Who would not now prize a program announcing Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg? In a few years our own local programs and posters will have a real and intimate interest. A collection of them is well worth saving in each county.

LETTERS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

Means must be devised to collect and save as many letters and manuscripts as the committees can secure. This will be difficult, but it is not impossible. In starting thus early there is one good way that may be suggested: Let the War History Committee in each county write to some of their leading men in the Army or Navy and get some letters as to their experiences. The present writer has a bundle of precious letters obtained in that way from leaders in the Spanish-American War. And as the work progresses friends who receive valuable letters may be induced to add them to the local collections.

INDEXES.

As this work proceeds, sample index cards will be sent to each War History Committee so that a uniform system of indexing may be established. This will add very much to the value of each collection.

VOLUNTEER WORK.

There will be expenses connected with the assembling and care of such materials. No public funds are available for such expenses. It is believed, however, that, among those who are privileged or who are compelled to remain at home in times like these, there will be interest and enthusiasm enough to render adequately the important service outlined above.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

The Minnesota Commission of Public Safety has forwarded to all the county directors the following request from the Minnesota Historical Society:

The records of the public safety work in your county should be preserved for historical purposes. This material will one day be of great service in writing a most important chapter in the history of our State and Nation. The historical records desired are the following:

1. Preserve all records of proceedings, account books, letter files, and other records developing in the conduct of the organization's activities. Make the record as full and detailed as possible, bearing in mind that what is commonplace to-day may be of peculiar interest to-morrow.

2. The county director and each local representative of the Public Safety Commission should file and preserve all letters and papers received by him in his official capacity.

3. Preserve copies of all official, printed, mimeograph or typewritten matter, notices, circulars, and letters.

4. Whenever there is a change of officials, see that the retiring officer turns over to his successor all the records and papers in his office with these instructions.

5. When the commission's work is done, all these records and papers are to be sent to the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul. The public safety archives of the whole State are to be made a permanent record.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has addressed the following letter to the sheriffs of the State:

RALEIGH, N. C., *June 5, 1917.*

DEAR SIR: Many of the sheriffs of North Carolina are sending notices, posters, circulars, etc., relative to the registration of June 5, under the selective draft law. If you have done anything of this sort, will you not kindly mail to me a copy of each notice, circular, poster, etc., which you have issued?

The North Carolina Historical Commission is attempting to collect all such material possible, bearing upon North Carolina's part in the war, to be preserved for the use of the future historian of the State. Such material as that referred to above will some day be of considerable historical value as showing the efforts made by the officials of the State and counties to perform their parts in this great national crisis.

I hope, therefore, that you will consider this request of sufficient importance to deserve your attention and favorable response.

Very truly, yours,

R. D. W. CONNOR.

The cases cited are but illustrations. The example is spreading, and it is clear that many States will eventually have collections of war materials that will be of the utmost value to the future historian.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now have the paper by Prof. Everett S. Brown, of the United States Food Administration, Washington.

ARCHIVES OF THE FOOD ADMINISTRATION AS HISTORICAL SOURCES.

By EVERETT S. BROWN.

In discussing the records of the Food Administration it will perhaps be wise to describe briefly its organization. It is highly proper that the Food Administration should be considered as a war organization, and that its records should be regarded as war records. In every instance where the Food Administration has been officially referred to, its status has never been considered other than that of a temporary war measure. For instance, when on May 19, 1917, President Wilson issued his first statement of the administration's food-control program, he said: "The proposed food administration is intended, of course, only to meet a manifest emergency and to continue only while the war lasts." The enacting clause of the food control law, approved August 10, contains the words, "That by reason of the existence of a state of war, * * *"; and section 24 provides: "That the provisions of this act shall cease to be in effect when the existing state of war between the United States and Germany shall have terminated, and the fact and date of such termination shall be ascertained and proclaimed by the President."

Because of its temporary nature, it was decided by Mr. Hoover, the United States Food Administrator, to treat the entire question of administration of the food control law as one of a series of problems. As each new problem arises a man is selected to deal with it. When a problem demands a more or less permanent staff, a head is selected to devote his entire time to the subject, or commodity, as the case may be. In this way a number of divisions have been established, each of which keeps records and data of its own particular activities.

The principal records of the Food Administration may be summed up under the following heads:

PRINTED DOCUMENTS.

First under this heading come the Government documents, such as the text of the food control law, the Congressional Record for the debate on the bill, and the reports of investigating committees.

An important series of printed documents is the one issued by the Food Administration, beginning with the President's statement of

May 19, telling the need for food control and naming Mr. Hoover as head of the organization to be formed, and containing important speeches of Mr. Hoover and members of his staff.

Then, too, there are various printed bulletins issued by the conservation library, or other divisions of the Food Administration.

NEWSPAPER RELEASES.

All important statements and information which the Food Administration wishes to make public are mimeographed and released to the newspapers. These releases form one of the most valuable sources for the writing of the history of the Food Administration. They are issued as a numbered series. These releases are placed in folders, and a table of contents giving the number, date, and title of each, is pasted on the outside. To facilitate still further the use of the releases a card subject index is kept. Going back to the first statements of Mr. Hoover upon his arrival in this country from Europe, in May, a complete record of the Food Administration is thus available.

DAILY PRESS REPORT TO MR. HOOVER.

A brief summary of the principal newspaper stories and editorial comments is sent to Mr. Hoover every day. Accompanying the summary goes a digest of the clippings used in making up the report. These daily reports would be of great assistance to anyone wishing to trace the trend of newspaper opinion on the food question.

Copies of these reports are kept on file according to date.

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS.

In order to keep in touch with newspaper opinion and to make out the reports already noted, a press clipping section is maintained. Aside from the big dailies which are received regularly, clippings are purchased from clipping agencies in different parts of the country. These clippings are sorted according to subject matter and sent to the various chiefs of divisions. After having been read by these men the clippings are returned to the press clipping section for filing. The clippings are filed according to date, being pasted on loose sheets of paper. An alphabetical arrangement by State, city, and paper is maintained. News items and editorials are kept in separate folders under the name of the particular paper.

A card subject index of the articles on the Food Administration contained in the New York Times is kept, and assists greatly in running down news items. Such an index of all newspaper clippings would require too great an expenditure of time and labor for the benefit to be derived therefrom.

LETTERS.

Every letter received, together with a copy of the answer, is filed by the division to which the letter was sent. A second carbon copy of every letter sent from any department or section of the Food Administration is preserved in the general filing room. There are, therefore, on record two copies of every letter which goes out.

SPECIAL DATA.

Some of the divisions of the Food Administration are of such importance from the historical point of view that a short description of their organization and records seems imperative in this connection.

The first of these, the States Administration Division, has to do with the relations between Federal and State Governments. On Mr. Hoover's recommendation, Federal Food Administrators in the States and island possessions have been appointed by the President. They form a link between the United States Food Administration at Washington and all State activities relating to food matters. They are the official representatives of the Food Administration.

The States Administration Division keeps constantly in touch with the Federal Food Administrators in the States. It handles all correspondence with them. This correspondence, therefore, will in the future have a distinct historical importance.

Within the State there is also a definite organization, although there is no one fixed form for all of the States. A typical State organization is as follows:

The president of the largest bank in each county is asked to call in a representative of each bank in his city, the editors of the leading newspapers, and the chief executive of the commercial club, to nominate for county food administrator the most active and aggressive man in the county, who will give his services without compensation and who will devote considerable time to the work. These nominees are appointed by the Federal Food Administrator of the State.

A meeting of the county administrators is then called. Each one is asked to appoint a committee to assist him, this committee to include one person from each town in the county. All publications are distributed through these committees. They are also charged with the duty of investigating complaints regarding the violation of the food laws in their respective counties, and reporting to the Food Administrator for the State the cases which prove to be well founded.

Another very important division is that which handles statistics. It is engaged in collecting and collating data on the production, consumption, movement, and prices of food material both in the United States and in European allied and neutral countries.

Mimeographed information service bulletins are prepared and distributed to heads of divisions and to Federal Food Administrators in the States.

Weekly reports on retail prices of staple commodities are received from all parts of the country, and monthly reports from manufacturers and dealers in food commodities, who are under license. The information contained in these reports will be tabulated so as to show profits, overcharges, and speculations in the various trades. The data so collected will constitute perhaps the most complete statistics ever gathered in any country relative to its food manufacturing industries.

The last of these special divisions is that of coordination of purchases. The functions of this division are to purchase foodstuffs (other than grains, which are purchased through the United States Food Administration Grain Corporation for the Allies), and to harmonize the purchases of the Allies, the Army, the Navy, and the Food Administration, of the most important staple food supplies and to cooperate with the Army and Navy, and other Government departments in an endeavor to coordinate, so far as practicable, their purchases of such food supplies.

Under the contracts between the United States Treasury and the Allies all food purchases must be made with the approval of, or by, the United States, and this power has been delegated to the Food Administration.

The CHAIRMAN. We will pass now to the next paper, "The collection of Catholic war records," by the Rev. Peter Guilday, editor of the Catholic Historical Review, and professor at the Catholic University of America, Washington.

The Rev. PETER GUILDAY. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I regret that illness has prevented me from preparing a paper upon the subject which has been given to me. When the National Catholic War Council was inaugurated last April the first committee to be started was the Committee on Historical Records. This committee was directed by the administrative committee of bishops to bend every effort to secure immediately, and to preserve, an accurate and complete record of all Catholic American activity in the present war. In all the preliminary meetings of the council, this part of this work was constantly emphasized. It was seen that unless provision was made at once for the history of Catholic patriotism and effort in this war, the church would be guilty of a neglect which can never be remedied and of a mistake which can never be retrieved. The purpose of the Committee on Historical Records was to secure every record and document and the description of every kind of spiritual and patriotic service which would assist the future historian in telling the story of Catholic activity in the war. In the matter of collecting

these Catholic war records two things have been begun—the compilation of the census of Catholic men and women in the service of the United States and the collection of every possible kind of historical material. Aiding and assisting the national committee are the diocesan committees, which act as central boards in directing the work of collecting war history material throughout the diocese. This means that the national committee functions through 104 subcommittees, the chairmen of which are appointed by the bishops of the dioceses. In each one of these ecclesiastical centers workers have been appointed to keep files of service lists, promotions, honors, decorations, etc., and a casualty list of the diocese is also being kept. It is from the parish, however, that the diocesan war council receives its most thorough cooperation. Here, the pastor is not only the leader and guide, but it is from him that the parochial committee on historical records will receive its best inspiration.

There are in the United States about 16,000 parochial units, and an appeal is being made to each one of these units to secure as accurately as possible all material of importance from the families of the men in the service, which can later be used in writing the history of the war. It is the hope of those in charge of this work that this project may eventually be the basis for the foundation of a national Catholic archives. For the first time in the history of the church in this country the Catholic body has been awakened to the realization of how important and necessary is such a central archival home. Outside of the three national councils of the bishops, held in 1851, 1866, and 1884, there has never been any concerted movement on the part of the church in the United States. Those who were instrumental in forming the National Catholic War Council hope to see it continue after the war is over for just such practical purposes as that of creating a national Catholic archival center. It is thought by the leaders that once the collection of war material is completed and properly housed, the hierarchy and the Catholic public will then appreciate the crying necessity of a central bureau where the sources and materials for the study of Catholicism in the United States may be brought together for the use of students, both Catholic and non-Catholic. At present, however, all our energies are being expended to gather in a complete record of Catholic activities during these days of storm and stress to the Nation. I wish again to express my regret that I have been unable on account of illness to prepare a paper describing this work more in detail. This, however, is being done, and within a short time a "handbook" will be published giving an exact idea of the scope of the historical committee's work.

The CHAIRMAN. I have had a letter from Prof. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, in which he stated that he felt that he ought to conserve his energies for his work, the work he has on hand, and

therefore he has not come to this meeting. He had intended to take part in the discussions at this meeting. I received, a few hours ago, a telegram from Mr. Godard, of Connecticut, in which he stated that he was sick with the grip. I was almost prevailed upon by necessity to stay away myself; but I have come on with a cold, which is evident from my speech, and for which I apologize; a sense of duty impelled me to come here. We have with us Prof. Johnston, of Harvard University; Mr. Connor, of the North Carolina Historical Commission; Dr. Buck, of Minnesota; and Dr. Sullivan, of the division of archives and history, New York. I think that any one of the gentlemen just named might now engage in the discussion. After these gentlemen have spoken, anyone in the audience may take part, as we wish to have a consensus of opinion and advice, as Mr. Leland suggested, with respect to the problem of war records and material.

Prof. JOHNSTON. I feel that I should not get up on my feet and try to tell you archivists anything on this subject, and the only reason I am presuming to address you on this occasion is because of the request of Mr. Leland; he suggested that I should do so. Another reason is, because I am so deeply interested; indeed I am boiling over with indignation on this question of a national building for archives and documents, and before the war began it seemed that our hopes might be realized. We are suffering very severely in consequence of not having such a building, and I think that now that the war has come on it is perfectly outrageous. This matter should not be neglected, and I don't really think that it is a difficult thing at the present time for the Government to undertake the erection of a national archive building. I think it would be a matter of economy. You can always leave the ornamental front until afterwards; all that you need is concrete and plenty of glass. It would be an economy to have such a place in which to store the new documents; and it would be an enormous economy to substitute a handful of trained archivists for the staff of Government clerks who are handling those documents inefficiently in a few buildings in Washington at the present time. It should be done if for nothing else than as a war economy. It is a perfectly fair argument that the building for public archives is a present-day necessity. I don't know that I can add very much to this discussion; but you can see that I feel very strongly on this subject. Not being an archivist, and dwelling in a remote part of the country, far from the center of affairs, I have not been able to do much, yet I have pitched in and done what I could, and I think that is what everyone should do. I want to tell you of one or two steps forward that I have taken, which I hope will lead to other steps that may eventually bring about the much desired result.

We had a dinner about four weeks ago—a dinner at which almost all of the patriotic societies of Massachusetts were represented by their presiding officers, and at which Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Prof. Turner, and myself were present; we put forward the case for the public archives building. Now as we all know, patriotic societies are pretty generally not making use of archivists and historians as they should, but on the other hand, they are deeply interested in the records of the past, and they wanted to know something about it. Now, that meeting was of a most hopeful character. I am accustomed to speak pretty plainly about things and I told them of the attempt to organize the records of the war; I told them things that I think some of them did not altogether like, but the response on the whole was excellent; we passed a resolution on this subject, and that resolution is being submitted to all the patriotic societies throughout the country, especially in the Southern States, and the support of these societies will be enlisted. Another step—I got in touch with a member of the Commercial Economy Board, working with the Council of National Defense, and we have now some one working for us at Washington. You all know of the work that Mr. Leland is doing. I think this is a very practical and workable proposition. Several of the most influential members of the Council of National Defense were approached with the idea of seeing how they would view this, regarding the right representation that should be made. Now that is just an example of what a person living in a remote part of the country tried to do, but I think if everybody would be stirred up, if we could get the people interested, sooner or later we could get hold of the right man in Washington or somewhere out West, to take hold of the thing, use influence, and get it done. I think we have been talking about this for some time and the time has now come for action.

Mr. CONNOR. It has been suggested that I should say something about the collection of war archives and war material from the viewpoint of the State organization—the collection of State material rather than that of the Nation. I should say that in my own efforts along that line I have found that some valuable work has been accomplished through two different organizations—one the North Carolina Historical Commission, of which I am secretary, and the other the State council of defense, the historical committee of which I have been made chairman, so that I work through these two organizations. In some cases I find I can get a certain class of matter better through the historical commission, and other matters better through the State council of defense. In some cases we have issued a number of appeals to people engaged in war work, urging upon them the necessity of collecting war material and the importance of the preservation of such material now, rather than

to wait later, when much of it will be destroyed. We have asked them in a general way to collect materials, such as illustrate the mind of the people, their points of view toward the war, local as well as State events and activities, the effect of the war on social, educational, economic, agricultural, political, religious conditions, personal achievements or sacrifices, or distinguished services of individuals, and we have grouped those general descriptions under ten or a dozen different headings. The great difficulty is that the average person does not appreciate the importance of documents of the moment, at the time at which they are issued. They do not think a document has any historical value until it is a hundred or two hundred years old; it is a fact we must impress upon their minds, that the documents of to-day will be of great historical value in the future, and that these documents are of great historical value now, greater than those of former national crises.

I shall not go into all of the details, but I will give you an illustration of what we are asking of them. We are asking them first of all to keep official documents, municipal ordinances relating to the war, proclamations and other public papers of the governor, sheriffs, mayors, and other public officials; documents issued by State or local boards of food conservation, and other public boards and commissions growing out of the war or relating to the war, posters of the Red Cross, Liberty loans, etc. The second, semiofficial documents. Among them we have, for instance, the classification of documents issued by the various committees on the Liberty loans. Now, I have recently requested the chairman of the campaign committee of the State to write for me a complete report of the work of his committee in connection with the Liberty loan campaigns, both the first and the second, which would come under this heading. The third is public-service documents, which include public-service corporations, mills, factories, etc.; educational material, showing the effect the war has had on schools; economic material, quotations from local markets, advertisements showing the effect of a state of war on economic conditions.

We also urge the making of photographs wherever possible, and I had quite an interesting photograph recently. A dealer had received a shipment of sugar of about 60,000 pounds, and as soon as it was rumored, about two or three hundred people gathered, and they stayed there; there was always a crowd there, and they were demanding sugar, so I had a picture taken of the crowd, showing the sentiment. Another division, propaganda material, including circulars, letters, advertisements, resolutions of meetings, etc.; pictorial material, pictures of military affairs. In regard to that, it seems to me inadvisable just now to collect, i. e., to make a list of soldiers and

sailors, to try to keep up with them individually, as that will be done by the War Department, and done better than the local organization could do it. Of course, if anything unusual comes up with any of the boys a record should be made of it. Another division is devoted to military material, manuscript material (such as letters received from friends or relatives at the front or in camps), diaries, and sermons and public addresses. Another classification relates to woman's work; women doing Red Cross work, nursing, knitting, etc.; and, finally, newspaper clippings from the local papers. I have attempted to get a report from each county through a county collector. Just what the results will be I do not know. It really is too early to say. We have not as yet received any great amount of material, but what we have received is all more or less of value; but I think that the total results are going to be very good. For instance, I received promises from the food administrator, the fuel administrator, and also from the heads of other war organizations, to turn over to me at the close of the war all the records of their offices, providing the National Government at Washington permits them to do so, and the State council of defense will do the same. The counties will preserve all such records and correspondence and turn them over to the North Carolina Historical Society at the close of the war; so that all of these results have been accomplished up to the present time. They are not great, but I think that the promise of the future is exceedingly bright and encouraging.

Dr. BUCK. I trust that Mr. Connor will keep the picture of the hungry mob demanding sugar out of the hands of the German propaganda, as its circulation in Germany might be considered as giving aid to alien enemies. At the present time it is not necessary to call attention to the distinction between archives and other material for history, and yet there has been considerable confusion, I think, in the discussion this afternoon with reference to these two subjects, and of course the collection of both is of very great importance. I am going to confine my remarks to the collection of official archives, official records of governmental activities. In the State of Minnesota we have an organization corresponding to the Council of National Defense of North Carolina, which has been mentioned, known as the Committee of Public Safety. This body does not have any historical department, or commission, and takes no special interest in history, or in the historical bearing of its work. The only official organization in Minnesota with authority to look after the historical records is the Minnesota Historical Society. This society has, as yet, no definite archive function; but it expects to have in the future, and it has taken considerable interest in reference to war archives. I am going to tell you two or three things we have tried to do. In the first place we persuaded the Committee of Public

Safety to issue an order to every county agent that had been appointed, to cooperate with the committee, directing the agent to preserve all of the correspondence and records of every sort, and to turn that material over ultimately to the Minnesota Historical Society, or whatever other authority might be designated by law, or by an official order, to preserve the archives.

Considerable time has been devoted to the investigation of the situation in the various localities, and we are trying to urge upon the county agents the necessity of preserving the records of the present day, particularly as they relate to the war. It occurs to me that there is another phase—another variety of records that are undoubtedly accumulating in great quantities, and that need special attention. They are Federal rather than State documents. I refer to the records of the local registration boards. The mass of this material is very great. We had some investigation in the way of handling and classifying it, and we find that in most cases it is being well handled and cared for at the present time, but it is a question what will become of it in the future. Will the War Department look after it—after the preservation of this material? Or, is it advisable for the State and State institutions to go into the matter of the proper preservation of this material which belongs to the Federal archives or is in the jurisdiction of the Federal archives? The only other point which I care to make is, this work that we are doing now is special work; we are preserving material for the history of America, of America's participation in the war. It should be looked upon as part of the general work of archivists and historical collectors, and, had the Government done its duty along these lines before the war, it would be now a simple matter—simply a continuation of this duty, and we would have been sure of the preservation of this material. It seems to me that we must not lose sight, in our collection of war material, of the equal importance of collecting other material, that is, materials that do not pertain to war. I think that special emphasis should be laid on that matter at the present time, on the collection of things of the present day which may ultimately be needed by future historians who write the history of this present day, regardless of the war, but with respect to the ordinary aspects of civil life.

Dr. SULLIVAN. In interpreting this title of the program, I think I have taken a somewhat broader view of this matter of records than Dr. Buck. Of course, if we were to interpret the word "record," we should probably confine ourselves more nearly to public records, and not pay attention to the subject that is going to be discussed later at the conference of historical societies. When the war broke out, we were very much interested, in the State of New York, in getting the machinery for collecting war material at work, immediately. A letter was drafted, which was sent to historical societies and to public offi-

cials, with reference to utilizing their opportunities to get this war material together. Shortly after that a communication came from Mr. Leland with reference to a plan for the collection of that material and we immediately got out a supplementary letter, which was printed and sent to agencies that we regarded as war material agencies; that is, certain agencies which it seemed possible to get to work for the collection of material relating to the war. In other words, I should class them as gathering agencies. We have in the State of New York, of course, public agencies such as would be found in a village clerk's office, the village board minutes, the town board minutes, and the county board of supervisors, council, and so on, who will get together material relating to any special matter. We felt, however, that we should not stop at that point and therefore we sent this letter far afield. In other words, we sent a letter to all of the history teachers in the high schools of the State and to all of the libraries. There are about 750 high schools in the State and about 750 libraries. We further sent this letter to the historical societies and the patriotic societies. This letter urged the members of these societies to gather the fugitive matter for preservation, for the reason that if they did not take care of it immediately, it would be lost.

Another agency that we approached, was that agency connected with the Committee of Public Defense in the various counties, known as the publicity committee, and we also sent the letter to the local newspapers. Our object in doing this was merely to get local material together; we did not care, in a certain sense, for the material that might be gathered by the larger agencies, such as would be found in a metropolitan city like New York, Albany, Syracuse, or other large centers; but we have wished to get the material that existed around throughout the State, which could be gotten by the various little organizations, so we urged them to do it. We did not expect to have a great percentage of good returns. Anybody who has had any experience with local officials realizes that they are not the kind of people who seemingly care much about historical matters. They seldom answer their correspondence; we found that that was a fault not confined to local political officers, but that one of the most energetic of the so-called publicity bureaus, with a college professor at its head, did not answer four letters which were sent, showing that even in the seats of the mighty there are some people who are deficient in doing some of the things they are asked to do, even though they profess enthusiasm for doing it in a public meeting.

Now I could expand at some length on the deficiencies of some of these agencies. Three letters were sent out to each of the publicity committees and out of a total of 62 committees we succeeded in getting 31 answers; that is, after three different sets of letters had been sent out to those men. They were seemingly willing enough to get

their names into print at the head of a sheet of paper, but they did not seem willing to come down to earth and get at the task of collecting this material. We also got up a uniform filing system for the filing of this material. In each county there was a library, a central place established to which material could be sent, and we urged all of the 62 libraries to get material in duplicate, so that they could keep one set and send the other to the State library. One experience has come out of this that I think would be valuable to anyone who is doing the same work, and that is the necessity for what we might call circularizing at regular intervals. The first letter is not sufficient; it ought to be followed up throughout the length of the war at regular intervals, with other letters, asking, "What have you done?" "What are you doing?" "Have you done anything?" "Will you do something?" We have gotten good results from many of the historical societies. I could read clippings that I have here from the various societies, showing exactly what they have done, how they have taken hold of the work. We have encouraged the people to send in material—not only the historical material, but other material. The newspapers have done a very good work in publishing appeals from us to send in material. We have sent letters to the newspapers, asking parents to send in the letters they receive from their sons who have gone over to France, or who are still located in this country. Some of these letters that have been published are remarkably good and show the spirit of the men. Of course, there are published volumes of such letters, but I have seen letters published in local newspapers which are far more indicative of a spirit of the times, are better war records, than any I have seen published in books edited by certain well-known men. That is all that we have been doing, but I have listened with pleasure to the remarks of Mr. Connor. He has suggested some things which we can put into operation.

Following the remarks by Dr. Buck there was a brief discussion respecting rumors of the unauthorized destruction of records of the National Government having historical value, and the conference voted to request the public archives commission to employ its offices in preventing the destruction of such material.

The conference then adjourned.

APPENDIX B.

REPORT ON THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF IDAHO.

By THOMAS M. MARSHALL,
Department of History in the University of Colorado.

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THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF IDAHO.

By THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL.

INTRODUCTION.

The organic act, by which the Territory of Idaho was created, was approved on March 3, 1863. The first capital was located at Lewiston, but the legislature of 1864 passed an act removing it to Boise. After a spirited legal battle between the people of Lewiston and the legislature, the United States marshal received orders from Washington to take charge of the archives and convey them to Boise, an action which settled the contest. Idaho became a State in 1890.

All of the territorial records and most of the State records are housed in the new capitol, a fireproof building, the wings of which have not been completed. In consequence office space is inadequate, and several offices are still in the old capitol, a brick structure which is a veritable fire trap. In the new capitol the vaults are fireproof, but they are small, greatly overcrowded, and inconveniently arranged. The shortage of space and frequent changes of administration have not been conducive to the establishment of a well-organized system of record-filing and deposit. The most crowded vault is that adjacent to the office of the secretary of state, designated below as vault 1, and it is probable that the investigator will find many of the records here listed in that vault removed to vaults 2 or 3. The governor's vault, designated in this report as vault 4, is too small and the filing system is such that it would take a far longer period than at my disposal to determine with certainty the contents of the filing cases. The overflow from many offices has been stored in boxes in the basement, the records now being inaccessible. The land-office vault in the old capitol is a sad commentary on political waste, for it houses about a hundred expensive ledgers which contain not a scratch of a pen. These are filed indiscriminately with volumes containing records.

The survey was confined to the archives in the old and new capitol buildings. No attempt was made to examine the records of the various State institutions, but for the assistance of investigators a list of the institutions is included. Boards and commissions whose

records are not at Boise have also been listed. The last legislature created several boards and commissions, and a list of these is also given. In the report the word "file," with the exception of court records, means a narrow drawer. The wide drawers are designated as drawers. The investigation of the archives was made in June, 1917.

The State officers showed unvarying courtesy to the compiler of this report, who was authorized by the governor "to see everything." Especial courtesies were extended by ex-Gov. James H. Hawley and by many members of the office forces. Of those to whom I am especially indebted, I wish to mention Mr. Sanford F. Hartman, chief clerk of the secretary of state; Mr. Charles A. Groves, deputy State treasurer; Mr. E. G. Gallet, secretary of the public utilities commission; Dr. Edward Biever, secretary of the board of health; Mr. I. W. Hart, clerk and ex officio reporter of the supreme court; Mrs. Edith R. Turner, clerk in the adjutant general's office; and Mrs. Clara Brown, proof clerk in the engineer's office.

A. ELECTIVE OFFICERS.

I. GOVERNOR.

The Territorial governor was appointed by the President and held office for four years, and until his successor was appointed and had qualified. In case of his death, removal, resignation, or absence from the Territory, the secretary assumed his functions.

The State governor is elected for two years and has the usual powers, with the exception that the pardoning power is vested in a board of pardons.

The records are kept in the vault off the office of the secretary of state, designated below as vault 1; in the secretary of state's vault off the library, designated below as vault 2; and in the vault off the governor's office, which is designated as vault 4.

TERRITORY.

Messages, proclamations, and other executive documents, 1863-1874, 1876-1881, 2 volumes. Vault 2.

Executive military orders issued during the Nez Percés war, 1877. These occupy the first part of the bill book of the Territorial legislature of 1880. Vault 2.

Appointments:

Appointment book, 1869-1880. Vault 2.

Appointment book, 1880-1889. Vault 1.

Pardons:

Register of applications for pardons, 1887-1889, 1 volume. Vault 4.

Book of pardons and proclamations. Vault 1.

Record of pardons, 1870-1881, 2 volumes. Vault 2.

Correspondence:

Letter book, 1881-1883. Vault 2.

Letter books, 1887-1890, 4 volumes. Vault 4.

Papers labeled "Old State matters, 1886-87." Vault 4.

STATE.

Appointments:

- Record of appointments, 1890-1917, 3 volumes. Vault 1.
- Register of appointments, 1893-94, 1 volume. Vault 4.
- List of appointments, 1901, 1 volume. Vault 4.
- Appointments, 1903-1906. 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Record of appointments, 1905-6, 1 volume. Vault 4.
- Notary public appointments, 1890-1917. 3 drawers. Vault 1.
- Notary public applications for appointments, 1895-1911. 4 drawers. Vault 1.
- Miscellaneous appointments, 1907-1915. 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Miscellaneous appointments. 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Applications and indorsements for appointments, 1912-1914, 1 volume. Vault 4.

Extradition and convicts:

- Extradition papers, 1899-1912. 8 drawers. Vault 1.
- Extradition papers, 1917. 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Extraditions, requisitions, writs of mandate; supreme court decisions, judgments, 1891-1898, 1 volume. Vault 4.
- Extradition and requisition papers, 1913-14. 1 drawer. Vault 4.
- Proclamations, reprieves, and rewards, 1890-1917. 2 drawers. Vault 1.
- Record of discharge of prisoners, proclamations, and extradition of criminals from Idaho, 1905-1917, 2 volumes. Vault 1.
- Restoration papers. 1903, 1907-1914. Vault 4.
- Parole of convict papers. 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Papers regarding indeterminate sentence law, 1909-10. Vault 4.

Proclamations and messages:

- Book of messages, 1890-1899. Vault 4.
- Communications to the legislature and bills approved, 1901. Vault 1.
- Communications to the legislature, 1903-1907. Vault 4.
- Proclamations, 1903, 1905-1914. Vault 4.
- Proclamations received, 1911-1914. Vault 4.
- Communications to the secretary of state in re matters connected with the legislative sessions, 1907, 1909. Vault 4.

Record of bills before the legislature, 1911, 1 volume. Vault 4.

Bills of the eleventh legislature approved or vetoed by Gov. Hawley, with his messages and receipts for bills from the secretary of state. Vault 4.

Institutions:

- Reports of State institutions, 1902, 1903, 1906-7. Vault 4.
- Reports of State institutions, 1903-1905, 1909-10. Vault 4.

Account book and vouchers:

- Duplicate vouchers, 1903-4. Vault 4.
- Account book, 1905-1907. Vault 4.
- Vouchers, 1909-1914. Vault 4.

Requisition papers:

- Old requisition papers. Vault 4.
- Requisition papers, 1897. Vault 4.

Official letters, 1890-1917. These are in three groups: (1) those kept in steel filing cases; (2) letters of 1903-1906 and 1909-10, in 35 paper boxes; (3) letter books of 1901, 1903-1905, 3 volumes. No system of filing has been followed and State papers have been mixed with letters. All are in vault 4.

Papers regarding land contests, 1889-90. Vault 4.

Record of deeds to State lands, 1892-1907, 1 volume. Vault 4.

Coal investigation papers, 1897. Vault 4.

Record of visitors, 1905, 1 volume. Vault 4.

Signatures of governor and private secretaries, 1907-1909, 1 volume. Vault 4.
 Supervisor's district plan, 1910. Vault 4.
 Annual reports of Northern Pacific Railway Co. and Great Northern Railway Co., 1910. Vault 4.
 Report on Payette-Boise project. Vault 4.
 Idaho Industrial Training School investigation papers, 1912. Vault 4.
 Papers regarding creation of boundary. Benewah and Madison Counties.
 Papers regarding creation of boundary, Benewah and Madison Counties. Vault 4.

2. SECRETARY OF STATE.

The Territorial secretary was appointed by the President and held office for four years. He was required to record and preserve all laws and proceedings of the legislative assembly, and all the acts and proceedings of the governor in his executive department. In spite of the legal provision, the laws of the second and third legislatures are missing from the archives.

The secretary of state is elected for two years. He is the custodian of legislative acts, resolutions, memorials, and journals, of the State seal, and of records, deeds, parchments, maps, and papers which the law requires shall be deposited in his office. Since 1913 he has been in charge of motor vehicle registration. The records are kept in vault 1, which is off the office suite; vault 2, which is off the library and is known as the secretary of state's vault, and vault 3, which is in the basement off the engine room.

SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY.

Book of election returns, 1866. Vault 2.
 Letter books, 1867-1879, 1884-1889, 6 volumes. Vault 2.
 Notarial bonds, 1863-1889, 2 drawers. Vault 1.
 Oaths and bonds of Territorial, State, and county officials, 1887-1890, 2 volumes. Vault 2.
 Inventory of books, furniture, and stock in the secretary's office, 1883, 1 volume. Vault 2.
 List of persons to whom copies of the Idaho supreme court records were sent in 1885, 1 volume. Vault 2.
 List of persons to whom governmental publications were sent, 1887-1889, 1 volume. Vault 2.
 Corporations:
 General index of incorporations of the Territorial period, included in the first volume of the State index. Vault 1.
 Record of incorporations, 1 volume. Vault 1.
 Lists of foreign corporations with agents operating in Idaho. n. d., 1 volume. Vault 2.
 Fee books, 1886-87, 4 volumes. Vault 2.
 Notebook of A. J. Pinkham giving county divisions, n. d. Vault 2.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Corporations:
 General index of incorporations, 1864-1917, 2 volumes. Vault 1.
 Record of foreign corporations doing business in Idaho, 1891-1917, 8 volumes. Vault 1.
 Articles of incorporation of several foreign corporations of various dates. Too large to file in boxes; 1 shelf. Vault 1.

Corporations—Continued.

Record of incorporation of domestic corporations, 1898-1917, 29 volumes.
Vault 1.

Certificates of incorporation, 1899, 1 volume. Vault 2.

Articles of incorporation, 1903-1917, 83 drawers. Vault 1.

Record of corporation fees, 1907-1909, 1 volume. Vault 2.

License and tax-receipt books, 1907, 1910-1917, 5 volumes. Vault 1.

Designation of agents, 1 volume. Vault 1.

Annual statements of corporations, 1908-1910, 8 drawers. Vault 1.

Record of nonproductive corporations, 1909-10, 1 volume. Vault 1.

Cooperative irrigation and telephone company reports, 1910, 1 drawer,
Vault 1.

Reports of nonproductive corporations, 1910, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Annual statements of corporations, 1910-1917, 30 drawers. Vault 1.

Memoranda, 1911, 1 volume. Vault 2.

Newspaper announcements of charters forfeited in 1912. Roll of papers.
Vault 1.

Tax receipts, 1912-1916, 9 volumes of stubs. Vault 3.

Report on corporation tax, 1 file. Vault 5.

Bonds and oaths:

Notarial bonds, 1890-1917, 15 drawers. Vault 1.

Official bonds, 1890-1917, 2 drawers. Vault 1.

Official bonds, 1909, 1910, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's office, room 1.

Notary records of bonds and oaths of State officials, 1890-1917, 5 volumes.
Vault 1.

Official oaths and resignations, 1892-1912, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Notary bond and oath books, 5 volumes. Vault 1.

Official oaths, 1913-1915, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Elections:

Convention nominations and platforms, 1890-1908, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Abstracts of votes, 1896-1910, 9 drawers. Vault 1.

Abstracts of State elections, 1898, 1904-1910, loose papers. Vault 2.

Nominating petitions for National, State, and county officers, 1910. These
are in a wooden box and are unclassified. Vault 2.

Primary nominations and platforms, 1910-1916, 4 drawers. Vault 1.

Abstract of vote for National, State, and county officers, 1912. Large
sheets bolted together. Vault 2.

Abstract of primary elections, 1912-1916, 3 volumes of large sheets bolted
together. Vault 2.

List of scattering votes for National and State officers, n. d., 1 volume.
Vault 2.

Certification of result of vote in new counties, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Abstract of Portneuf County vote, 1917. Vault 4.

Correspondence:

Letter books, 1890, 1893-1902, 46 volumes. Vault 2.

Letters to, regarding corporation tax, 1908-1911, 2 filing boxes. Vault 2.

Letter books regarding corporation tax, 1908-1911, 5 volumes. Vault 2.

Correspondence regarding corporation tax, 1911-1914. 6 boxes marked
"Corporation tax." Vault 3.

Letters to and from, 1911-1912, 6 filing boxes. Vault 2.

Letters to and from, 1912-1915, 19 filing boxes, marked "official." Vault 3.

Duplicate claims of legislature and secretary of state, 1907-1911, 1 drawer.
Vault 1.

Bids and contracts:

- Public building specifications, bids, and contracts, and warranty deeds, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- New capitol building contracts and bonds, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Penitentiary ditch bids, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Penitentiary supply bids, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Bids for buildings at Deaf, Dumb, and Blind School, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Bids and contracts for printing and binding laws, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Motor vehicles:

- Registration of, 1913-1915, 2 volumes. Vault 1.
- Registration of, 1913-1915, 20 drawers. Vault 2.
- Registration of, 1915, 2 drawers. Vault 1.
- License receipts, 1913-1914, 1916-1917, 9 drawers. Vault 1.
- License receipts, 1915, 4 drawers. Vault 2.
- Record of fines, 1913-1914, 1 volume. Vault 1.
- Registration of automobile dealers, 1913-1915, 1 volume. Vault 1.
- Record of motor vehicles in Idaho, 1915, 1 volume. Vault 2.
- Record of motor vehicles in Idaho, 1916-1917, 2 volumes. Vault 1.

Fees:

- Fee book, 1892-1893. Vault 2.
- Fee books, 1897-1916, 4 volumes. Vault 1.
- Fee book, 1905-1906. Vault 2.

Receipts and Expenditures:

- Expense book, 1892-1893. Vault 1.
- Duplicate receipts, 1903-1906, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Account book, 1909-1910. Vault 1.
- Record of expenditures, 1911-1916, 1 volume. Vault 1.
- Duplicate vouchers, 2 drawers. Vault 1.
- Cash receipt book, 1917. Vault 1.
- Daily deposit slips, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's office, room 1.
- Certificates for appropriations, 1917, 1 drawer. Auditor's office, room 1.
- Record of State warrants paid, 1892-1893, 2 volumes. Vault 2.
- Duplicate claims, legislative, 1913, 1 drawer. Vault 1.
- Duplicate claims, Capitol building maintenance, 1913-1914, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Trade-Marks and Labels:

- Index of trade-marks and labels, 1 volume. Vault 1.
- Record of trade-marks and labels, 1907-1916, 1 volume. Vault 1.

Reports:

- Reports, 1903-1906. Vault 4.
- Reports to the treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.
- Copies of reports to the treasurer, 2 drawers. Vault 1.
- Quarterly reports, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's office, room 1.

Reception book, recording all documents received by the Secretary of State, 1912-1914. Vault 1.

Mailing register of State publications, 1890-1891, 1 volume. Vault 1.

Record of criminals indicted, 1896-1898, 1 volume. Vault 2.

Registration of citizenship, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Receipts of house bills, 1915. Vault 1.

Bundle of photographs of plans of the State capitol. Vault 2.

Maps:

Maps and profiles, 5 drawers. Vault 1.

Bundle of maps of proposed counties, 1917. Vault 1.

Miscellaneous papers:

Receipts, petitions, and miscellaneous papers, 5 drawers. Vault 1.

Old miscellaneous papers, 2 drawers. Vault 1.

Miscellaneous papers—Continued.

One bundle of unclassified papers. Vault 1.

One bundle of miscellaneous papers of the Secretary of State, mainly letters to the Secretary, 1912. Vault 2.

Record of deeds of property transferred to the State, 1905-1907, 1 volume. Vault 1.

Book of photographs of deeds of property owned by the University of Idaho. Vault 1.

List of State property, n. d., 1 volume. Vault 2.

3. AUDITOR.

The office of auditor was created by the first Territorial legislature, but no records covering 1863-1876 were found. The State auditor is elected for two years. He keeps a record of legislative appropriations, issues warrants for money paid from the treasury, and keeps a record of these warrants and upon what funds they are drawn. He also calculates the amount of the biennial appropriations, and keeps the account of the State with the United States, with other States, with counties, and with persons and corporations. As ex officio State examiner he keeps an inventory of the State's chattel property, and supervises the system of accounts used in State and county offices, and in State institutions.

The records are kept in the auditor's office, designated below as room 1, in a basement room under the land office, designated below as room 2, and in the vault off the land office. At present the records in room 2 are in a chaotic condition, as the present auditor is installing a new system of accounting and is engaged in sorting the vouchers and warrants which have accumulated since 1890.

TERRITORY.

Bonds:

Bond register, 1877-1889. In book with State record, 1890-1913. Room 1.

Record, 1880-1884, 1 volume. Room 2.

Official bonds of county auditors, 1880-1883, 1 volume. Room 2.

Record of public printing, 1881-1888, 1 volume. Room 2.

Licenses and taxes:

Poll-tax record and license account, 1882-83, 1 volume. Room 2.

Memoranda of licenses, 1885, 1 volume. Room 2.

Record of licenses and poll taxes, 1886, 1 volume. Room 2.

License account, 1887-1889. The book also contains the State record to 1893. Room 2.

Poll-tax account, 1887-1889. The volume also contains the State record until 1892. Room 2.

Assessment books, property tax, 1887-1889; with State record, 1890-1894, 2 volumes. Room 2.

Ledgers, 1887-1889, 2 volumes. Room 2.

Letter book, 1888-89. Room 2.

Journals:

Journal, 1889-1914, 13 volumes. Room 2.

Journal, 1914-1916, 1 volume. Vault 7.

Journal, 1917, 1 volume. Room 1.

STATE.

Account books:

- Ledger, 1890-1910, 1912-1916, 10 volumes. Room 2.
- Ledger, 1910-1912, 3 volumes. Vault 7.
- Ledger, 1916-17, 1 volume. Room 1.
- Appropriation account books, 1892-1908, 11 volumes. Room 2.
- State-fund ledger, 1892. Room 2.
- Cashbook, 1906-1911. Room 2.

Vouchers and warrants:

- About 300,000 warrants and vouchers, 1890-1917. Now being arranged in chronological order in filing cases. Room 2.
- General and special fund warrant registers. About 250 volumes. Stored in alcove off room 2.
- Register of State warrants, 1896-1901, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Carey-act voucher record, 1901-1915, 1 volume. Vault 7.
- Warrant books, 1911, 1917, 6 volumes. Vault 7.
- General-fund warrant register, 12 volumes. Room 1.
- Undelivered warrants, 2 files. Room 1.
- Applications for duplicate warrants, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
- Voided warrants, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
- Miscellaneous orders for warrants, 1917, 2 files. Room 1.

Bonds:

- Bond register, 1890-1913. In the book with the Territorial record, 1877-1889. Room 1.
- Record of surety bonds, 1902-1912, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Record of surety bonds, 1905-1917, 1 volume. Room 1.
- Receipts for surety bonds, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.
- Certificates of appointment of officers of national surety companies, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Lands:

- School land receipt books, 1891, 1897-1905, 3 volumes. Room 2.
- University land receipt book, 1892-1905, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Land board receipts for State land sales, 1903-1917, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Register of land receipts, 1905-1909, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Land department abstracts. Room 2.

Licenses and taxes:

- Assessment book, 1890-1894; with Territorial record, 1887-1889. Room 2.
- Assessment book, property tax, 1890-1894. In book with Territorial record, 1887-1889. Room 2.
- Abstract of assessment rolls, 1905-1914, 7 volumes. Room 2.
- County auditor's abstract of assessments, 1914-1916, 5 files. Room 1.
- Poll-tax account, 1890-1899, 2 volumes. Room 2. The first volume contains the Territorial poll-tax account.
- Tax and license account, 1891-1893, 1 volume. Room 2.
- License register, 1891-92, 1901-1904, 1907-1912, 3 volumes. Room 2.
- The first volume contains the Territorial register, 1887-1889.
- License register, 1914-1917. Room 1.
- License accounts, 1892-1900, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Tax register, 1906-1915, 1 volume. Room 2.
- Transfer tax register, 1907-1914, 1 volume. Vault 7.
- Transfer tax reports, 1917, 6 files. Room 1.
- Inheritance tax reports, 1916-17, 2 files. Room 1.
- Certificates of valuation, 1891-1895, 2 volumes. Room 2.
- Certificates of valuation, 1913, 1 file. Room 1.

Licenses and taxes—Continued.

Certificates of valuation of Bonner and Cassia Counties, 1906, 1 file.
Room 1.

County auditors' affidavits of valuation, 1908, 1 file. Room 1.

Annual financial statements of county auditors, 1909-1916, 10 drawers.
Room 1.

Certificates of tax apportionment, 1913-1916, 19 volumes. Room 2.

Certificates of tax apportionment, 1917, 3 volumes. Vault 7.

Register of apportionment to funds, 1917, 1 volume. Room 1.

Register of certificates issued, 1917, 1 volume. Room 1.

Record of receipts, 1914, 1 volume. Vault 7.

Notices of receipts of money from treasurer, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Treasurer's license receipts, 1917, 3 drawers. Room 1.

Claims:

Claim register, 12 volumes. Room 2.

Record of claims, 1899-1900, 1 volume. Room 2.

Claims certified to legislature, 1913, 1 file. Room 1.

Deficiency claims record, 1895-96, 1905-6, 2 volumes. Room 2.

Claims, 1917, 3 drawers. Room 1.

Claims against the State, 1917. Unfiled vouchers. Room 1.

Disallowed claims, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Correspondence:

Letter books, 1893, 1896-1899, 1901, 7 volumes. Room 2.

Correspondence, 1901-1917, 88 files. Stored in alcove off Room 2.

Correspondence, 1917, 5 drawers. Room 1.

Miscellaneous:

"Scratch" book, 1893. Room 2.

Treasurers' receipts, 1893-1895, 1 volume. Room 2.

Treasurers' monthly statements, 1893-94. Room 2.

Appointments, 1905-6, 1 file. Room 1.

Deputy State auditor's appointments, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Requisitions filed from legislature, 1907, 1 file. Room 1.

Requisitions from legislature, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Authorizations of deficiencies, 1908-1911, 1 file. Room 1.

Game fund record, 1911-1914, 7 volumes. Room 2.

Subsequent roll, 1913, 1 file. Room 1.

Reports of private car companies, 1915-16. Room 1.

Abstract of personal property assessment roll, 1916, 2 files. Room 1.

Inventories of State institutions, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Inventory, chattel property, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Book of expenditures and miscellaneous and contingent appropriations,
1917, 1 volume. Room 1.

Daily deposit slips of bank commissioner, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Orders of commitment to insane asylum, 1917, 2 files. Room 1.

State and county examination reports, 1917, 7 drawers. Room 1.

Miscellaneous reports of State officials, 1917, 2 files. Room 1.

Opinions of attorney general, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

List of mortgages filed with treasurer, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Post-office receipts, 1917, 2 files. Room 1.

Forest reserve apportionment, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Approved bills, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

District court decrees and deposit slips, 1917, 2 files. Room 1.

Miscellaneous:

Depository securities and releases, 9 boxes. Room 1.

Requests for future State publications, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Suits against the State, 1917, 1 file. Room 1.

Miscellaneous papers. On a shelf in the alcove is a mass of disorganized papers. Room 2.

Index, 1 volume. Room 2.

4. TREASURER.

The act of Congress by which the Territory of Idaho was created provided that the legislature should appropriate annually "the usual sum to be expended by the governor to defray the contingent expenses of the Territory * * * and * * * a sufficient sum, to be expended by the secretary of the Territory, and upon an estimate to be made by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, to defray the expenses of the legislative assembly, the printing of the laws, and other incidental expenses; and the governor and secretary of the Territory shall, in the disbursement of all moneys entrusted to them, be governed solely by the instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States." In the document no provision was made for a treasurer but the office was created by the first legislature.

The State treasurer is elected for two years. He is required to keep a separate account for each fund in his possession and how the money is disbursed. The records are kept in vault 5 off the treasurer's office and in vault 6 which is off the library and is used jointly by the treasurer and bank commissioner.

TERRITORY.

Register of warrants, 1863-1889, 3 volumes. Vault 6.

Bonds:

Bond registers, 1866-1869, 1885, 4 volumes. Vault 6.

Bond register, insane asylum, 1885, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Bond register, capitol building,*1885, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Cashbooks, 1863-1871, 1887, 2 volumes. Vault 6.

Letter books, 1869-1871, 1880-1889, 2 volumes. Vault 6.

Ledger, 1872-1888, 3 volumes. Vault 6.

Journal, 1872-1891, 3 volumes. Vault 6.

Day book, 1875-1889. Vault 6.

Reports of treasurer and controller, 1880-1890, 2 volumes. Vault 6.

Book of receipts and expenses, 1887-1891. Vault 6.

STATE.

Bonds, mortgages, and loans:

Bond registers, 1890-1917, 4 volumes. Vault 5.

Record of dead mortgages, loans, and bonds, 1 volume. Vault 5.

Record of bonds redeemed, 1885-86, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Wagon-road bond register, 1890, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Refunding bond register, 1891, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Mortgages, farm loans, 1890-1917. Vault 5.

Bonds, mortgages, and loans—Continued.

- Loan register, 1892–1906, 1 volume. Vault 5.
- School bonds, 1901–1917, 1 volume. Vault 5.
- Five packages of surety bonds. Kept in safe. Vault 5.
- Notes, 1902–1917. Kept in safe. Vault 5.
- Surety bond register, 1915–1917, 1 volume. Vault 5.
- Register of collections, bonds, mortgages, and certificates, 1 volume. Vault 5.
- Reports on collections, bonds, loans, and certificates, 1915–1917, 1 file. Vault 5. (The word file as here used means a narrow steel drawer.)

Banking:

- Monthly bank statements to 1912. Two shelves of unassorted papers. Vault 6.
- Book of daily fund balances, 1903–4. Vault 6.
- Register of deposits, 1905, 1 volume. Vault 6.
- Bank balance books, 1905–1908, 3 volumes. Vault 6.
- Bank balance books, 1910–1917, 6 volumes. Vault 5.
- Book of check stubs, 1907, 1 volume. Vault 6.
- Deposit book, 1908–9. Vault 6.
- Register of interest on State deposits, 1909–1917, 1 volume. Vault 5.
- Local bank deposit percentages, 1915–17, 1 file. Vault 5.
- Monthly and quarterly bank statements, 1915–1917, 10 files. Vault 5.
- Check registers, 1915–1917, 1 file. Vault 5.
- Cancelled checks, 1915–1917, 11 drawers. Vault 5.
- Deposit slips, 1915–1917, 6 drawers. Vault 5.
- Deposit slips in active banks, 1915–1917, 1 file. Vault 5.
- Cancelled checks, 1915–1917, 2 files. Vault 5.
- Statements of outside banks, 1917, 1 drawer. Vault 5.

Receipts and expenditures:

- Register of warrants, 1890–1908, 4 volumes. Volume 1 also contains Territorial warrant records, 1886–1889. Vault 6.
- Warrant registers, 1910–1917, 4 volumes. Vault 5.
- Auditor's duplicate warrants, 1917, 2 files. Vault 5.
- Book of receipts and expenses, 1890–91. In the same book are Territorial records, 1887–1889. Vault 6.
- Receipt books, 1907–1912, 16 volumes. Vault 6.
- Receipt-book stubs, 22 volumes. Vault 5.
- Summary sheets of money received, 1 file. Vault 5.

Account books:

- Ledgers, 1894–1896, 1901, 2 volumes. Vault 6.
- Ledgers, 1910–1917, 6 volumes. Vault 5.
- Journal, 1890–1894, 2 volumes. The first volume contains Territorial record, 1886–1889. Vault 6.
- Journal, 1905, 1 volume. Vault 6.
- Cashbooks, 1890–91, 1895, 1897–1907, 7 volumes. Vault 6.
- Cashbooks, 1915–1917, 3 volumes. Vault 5.

Reports:

- Book of monthly reports, 1891–1901. Vault 6.
- Reports, 1893–1897. Vault 6.
- Reports to the auditor, 1901–1906, 3 volumes. Vault 6.
- Report, 1908. Vault 4.
- Unapportioned reports to auditor from treasurer, 1 file. Vault 5.
- Auditor's certificates, 1915–1917, 2 files. Vault 5.

Reports—Continued.

Auditor's receipts, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Treasurer's daily and monthly reports to the auditor, 1916-17, 1 file. Vault 5.

County record book, 1905-1907. Vault 6.

County treasurer's reports, 1915-1917, 2 files. Vault 5.

Report on docket fees from various counties, 1 file. Vault 5.

Claims:

Capitol building claims to 1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Capitol building expense book. Vault 5.

Book of capitol building claims, 1915-1917. Vault 5.

Books of claims. treasurer's office, 1915-1917. Vault 5.

Claims, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Apportionments:

Apportionment record, 1902-1904, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Auditor's apportionment sheets, 8 files, Vault 5.

Correspondence:

Letter books, 1893-1900, 1903-1909, 13 volumes. Vault 6.

Correspondence and bank statements, 1908-1910, 6 paper files. Vault 6.

Correspondence, 1911-1915, 4 files. Vault 5.

Correspondence, 1915-16, 5 drawers. Vault 5.

Active correspondence, 1917, 12 files. Vault 5.

Miscellaneous:

State sales certificates, 16 files. Vault 5.

Collection account book, 1908-9. Vault 6.

Remittance sheets, 3 files. Vault 5.

Textbook accounts, 1899, 1 volume. Vault 6.

Stenographic fees, 1915-1917, 1 drawer. Vault 5.

Docket fees, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Motor vehicle registration, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Miscellaneous papers, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

5. ATTORNEY GENERAL.

The organic act by which the Territory of Idaho was created provided for the appointment of an attorney who was to serve for four years. The attorney general of the State is elected for two years. With the exception of a single volume no records of the Territorial attorney were found. The letters, letter books, and cases, 1890-1912, of the attorney general are stored in boxes in the basement and are not accessible. The other records, with two exceptions, are in the office of the attorney general, the loose papers being kept in steel filing cases.

TERRITORY.

Letter book, 1887-1890. Vault 2.

STATE.

Correspondence:

Correspondence, 1913-1917, 3 drawers.

Correspondence index book, 1915-1917.

Abstract letters, 1917.

Docket book, 1897.

Opinion on University bonds, 1905. Vault 4.

Cases:

Index of cases, 1905-1917, 4 volumes.

Cases disposed of, 1913-1916, 4 drawers.

Land cases, 1911-1917.

Carey Act project cases.

Public Utilities Commission opinions and cases, 1917.

Cases pending, 2 drawers.

6. SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

The superintendent of public instruction is elected for two years and is also ex officio a member of the State board of education and of the board of regents of the University of Idaho. Since 1911 the records of the office have been kept with care; but few documents before 1911 have been preserved. The documents are kept in filing cases in the office of the superintendent of public instruction, which is in the same suite with the board of education.

Record of apportionment of common school fund, 1891-1912, 1 volume.

Minutes, Idaho State Teachers' Association, 1892-1913, 2 volumes.

Teachers' register, 1898, 1 volume.

Index of appropriations, 1905-6.

Journal containing record of life and State certificates, 1904-5.

Receipts and expenditures:

Expense book, 1907-8.

Vouchers, 1911-1914, 6 drawers.

Receipts of certificate fees, 1911-1916, 5 drawers.

Day books, entry of applications, 1911-1917, 3 volumes.

Summer normal school records, 1911-1917, 4 drawers.

Correspondence and certification of teachers:

Correspondence and certification of teachers, 1911-1917, 12 drawers.

Applications for certificates, 1916-17, 1 drawer.

Correspondence with county superintendents, 1917, 2 drawers.

Records of certificates granted, 1911-1917, 4 volumes.

After apportionment, daily deposit slips, 1917, 2 files.

Auditor's office, room 1.

7. INSPECTOR OF MINES.

The inspector of mines is elected for two years. His records are kept in filing cases in his office. No documents before 1905 were found, but the inspector was out of the State and his office force on vacation at the time the survey was made, so that it is possible that other records may be stored in the basement. By the courtesy of the secretary of State, I was allowed to examine the records in the office.

Correspondence, 1911-1917, 5 drawers.

Mining and individual reports, 1905-1909, 2 drawers.

Annual reports, 1908-1913.

"Blue sky" reports, 1912-1916.

B. APPOINTIVE OFFICERS.

8. STATE ENGINEER.

The office of State engineer was created in 1895 and is filled by an appointment by the governor for a four-year term. The business of the engineer is to measure and keep a record of the flow of streams which may be used for irrigation, to ascertain suitable sites for reservoirs, to examine plans for proposed dams and dikes, and to inspect dams, dikes, and embankments, and force the rebuilding of such as are found defective. Previous to 1903 water location notices were filed with county records. The documents, with four exceptions, are kept in filing cases in the engineer's office in the old capitol.

Register of certificates, 1893-1895. Vault 2.

Surveyor's licenses, 1895-1917, 3 drawers.

Card index of water location notices, 1895-1917.

Plans and specifications of dams and embankments.

Decree books showing water rights decreed by district courts, 1901-1917, 3 volumes.

Card index of decreed streams, 1901-1917.

Books of permits to appropriate public waters, 1903-1917, 45 volumes.

Permit card index, 1903-1917.

Card index for streams, 1903-1917.

Original applications for water, 1903-1917, 186 volumes.

Books of completion of work and proofs of beneficial use of water, 1903-1917, 4 volumes.

Book of certificates of transfer of use of water rights, 1904-1917.

Reports, 1909. 1 steel drawer. Vault 1.

Reports to treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Books showing water district records, 1916-17.

Report and daily deposit slips, 1917. 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

Carey act documents. 20 drawers.

Correspondence and permit files, 1895-1917. 70 drawers.

9. FISH AND GAME WARDEN.

The governor appoints the fish and game warden for a term of two years. The office was established in 1899, but with the exception of correspondence, no records before 1905 have come to light. Unless otherwise stated, the records are kept in filing cases in the warden's office.

Licenses:

Record of licenses, 1905-1909, 2 volumes. Auditor's office, room 2.

Record of licenses, 1907-1917, 6 volumes.

Vouchers and cash books:

Expense and salary vouchers, 1907-1917, 10 drawers.

Cash reports, 1911. 1 drawer.

Cash books, 1911-1916, 2 volumes.

Record of vouchers, 1911-1917, 2 volumes.

Permits:

Shipping permits, 1911, 1913-14, 1 drawer.

Private pond permits, 1 drawer.

Bonds of deputies, 1911-12. 1 drawer.
Record of fry planting, 1913-1916.
Reports to treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.
Heyburn Park record, 1915-16, 2 volumes.
Requisitions, 1 drawer.
Resignations, commissions, and bonds of resigned deputies. 1 drawer.
Messenger reports, 1 drawer.
Buck fishway papers, 1 drawer.
Record of claims, 1917.
Taxidermist reports, 1 drawer.
Deeds, abstracts, and contracts, 1 drawer.
Reports. Vault 4.
Tags, fish-can labels, 1 drawer.
Correspondence:
 Correspondence, 1917, 8 drawers.
 Correspondence files, 1899-1908. Stored in basement.
Daily deposit slips, 1917. Auditor's office, room 1.
Monthly reports, 1917, 2 files Auditor's office, room 1.

10. INSURANCE COMMISSIONER.

The insurance commissioner is appointed by the governor for a four-year term. The records, unless otherwise stated, are in the office in the old capitol.

Insurance company record, 1898-1908, 4 volumes.
Agency record, 1908-1917, 1 volume.
Articles of incorporation of insurance companies and fraternal orders, 1901-1917, 19 files.
Account books:
 Ledger, 1901-1906.
 Transfer ledger, 1907.
 Journal, 1901-1904, 2 volumes.
 Journal, license account, 1903.
 Cash books, 1903-1917, 3 volumes.
 Record of policies issued by Idaho State insurance companies, 1910-1912.
 Insurance statistics, 1910-1917.
 Journal, abstract of vouchers, 1911-1917.
 Fee record, 1911-1917.
Reports to the treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.
Annual statements of insurance companies, 1915-1917, 8 drawers.
Agent's register, 1915-1917.
Record of companies and agent's licenses, 1916-17.
List of receipts of moneys charged to county treasurer.
Daily deposit slips, monthly reports, and license receipts, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's office, room 1.
Correspondence:
 Letter books, 1903-1906, 2 volumes.
 Correspondence, 1911-1917, 20 drawers.
Miscellaneous papers, 1901-1917, 2 cabinets.

11. BANK COMMISSIONER.

The bank commissioner is appointed by the governor for a term of four years. When not otherwise designated, the records are kept in the commissioner's office.

Textbook account, 1895-1899, 2 volumes.

Record of drafts, 1909. Vault 6.

General ledger, 1909-1911. Vault 6.

Articles of incorporation, 1911-1917, 4 drawers.

Claim vouchers, 1913-1916, 1 drawer.

Treasurer's receipts, 1913-1916, 1 drawer.

Reports on banks, 1906-1909. Files arranged by counties, 24 drawers. Vault 6.

Call reports:

Call reports to close of 1913, 30 drawers. Vault 6.

Call reports, 1914-1917, 5 drawers.

Abstract of call reports and examinations, 1915-1917.

Reports of examinations. Unsorted bundles filling one case. Vault 6.

Bank examinations:

Bank examinations, 1912-13, 16 drawers. Vault 6.

Bank examinations, 1914-1917, 9 drawers.

Reports:

Special reports, 1 drawer.

Reports of receivers, 1913-1916, 1 drawer.

Reports to governor and board of bank commissioners, 1 file.

Reports to treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Reports, 1913-1917, 2 drawers.

Record of disbursements and receipts, 1915-1917, cash book.

"Blue sky" filings, 1915-1917, 2 drawers.

Earnings and dividends, 1916, 1 drawer.

Oaths of bank directors, 7 drawers. Vault 6.

Officers, directors, and directors' oaths, 1914-15, 1 drawer.

Oaths of bank directors, 1917, 1 drawer.

Report of examining committee, 1917, 1 drawer.

Reports of conditions, 1917, 2 drawers.

Publisher's certificates, 1917, 1 drawer.

Verifications, 1917, 3 drawers.

Officials and collections, 1917, 1 drawer.

Collective agency bonds, 1917, 1 drawer.

Quarterly reports, 1917. 1 file, Auditor's office, room 1.

Correspondence:

Miscellaneous correspondence, 7 files. Vault 6.

Correspondence, 1911-1915, 8 drawers.

"Blue sky" law correspondence, 1917, 1 drawer.

12. DIRECTOR OF FARM MARKETS.

This office was created in 1915. The director is appointed by the governor for a term of two years. The records are kept in the office in the old capitol.

Index files of producers and buyers.

Cash books, 3 volumes.

Correspondence, 3 files.

13. ADJUTANT GENERAL.

Article XIV, section 4, of the State constitution provides that "all military records, banners, and relics of the States, except when in lawful use, shall be preserved in the office of the adjutant general." In spite of the provisions the records were poorly kept before 1912. Such records as exist which are not here tabulated are stored in the basement, are unclassified, and are now inaccessible.

TERRITORY.

Nez Percés and Bannock War veteran discharges and copy of muster rolls, 1877-78, 1 drawer.

STATE.

Muster rolls:

Muster rolls, 1898, 1 drawer.

Muster rolls, Second Idaho Infantry, 1916.

Muster rolls for present regiment and enlistment papers, 1917, 1 file.

Muster files and correspondence, 1917, 1 drawer.

Receipts and expenditures:

Expense book, 1901.

Soldiers' back pay records, 1907-8, 1 file.

Property account, regimental staff officers, 1910, 1 file.

Subsistence returns, 1910-1912, 1 file.

Receipts for warrants, 1911-12, 1 file.

Expense vouchers, State, 1911-12, 1 file.

State vouchers, 1911-1917, 4 files.

Receipts for property, 1912, 1 file.

Pay rolls, 1912-1914, 1 file.

Subsistence account, 1913, 1 file.

Record of vouchers, 1913.

Quartermaster returns, 1913-14, 2 files.

Account current of United States property and disbursing office, 1914-1917, 1 file.

Back pay vouchers, 1916, 1 file.

Cash book, 1916-17.

Correspondence:

Correspondence, 1913-1917, 9 files and drawers.

Inspector instructor correspondence, 2 files.

Telegrams of mobilization, 1916, 1 drawer.

Miscellaneous:

Roster of rejections, 1898.

Commissioned officers' record, 1902-1917, 1 file.

Reports of small-arms firing, 1906-1915, 2 files.

Retained transportation requests, 1910-1917, 1 file.

Individual records of enlisted men, 1912-13, 1 file.

Individual company records, 1912-1915, 18 files.

Ordnance property book, 1913.

Reports of training camps, 1913-14, 1 file.

Drill reports, 1913-1916, 3 files.

Drill report cards, 1914, 1 file.

Mobilization papers, 1914, 1 file.

Reports of musters into service, 1914, 1 file.

Target practice records, 1914, 1 drawer.

Miscellaneous—Continued.

Health rolls, 1914, 1 file.
Officers' military record, 1915, 1 file.
Field and annual inspection reports, 1915-16, 1 file.
Bonds and leases of target ranges, 1915-16, 1 file.
War Department statistics, 1915-1917, 1 file.
Requisitions to the War Department, 1915-1917, 1 file.
Uniform allowance, 1916, 1 file.
Report of survey of Government property, 1916.
Enlistment papers, 1916, 1 file.
Change of status of officers and enlisted men, 1916, 1 file.
Reserve descriptive lists, 1916-17, 1 file.
Property book, 1916-17.
Transportation papers, 1917, 1 file.
Oaths of officers, 1917.
Registration oaths, 1917, 1 file.
Medical and ordnance returns, 1917, 2 files.
Examination of noncommissioned officers to be officers, 1 file.

14. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION.

The commissioner of education is appointed by the board of education and performs such duties as are assigned by the board. The records are kept in the office in the suite occupied by the board. The most important documents pertain to the school districts.

15. BOILER INSPECTOR.

This office existed only during 1893-94. Such records as exist are in the secretary of state's vault 2.

Mileage report, 1893-94.
Account books, 1893-94, 2 volumes.
Register, 1893-94.

16. CHEMIST.

This office was established in 1909 and placed under the control of the board of health. The chemist's records are kept in his office off his laboratory.

Records of analyses, 1909-1917.
Correspondence, 1909-1917.

17. BACTERIOLOGIST.

The office was established in 1911 and was placed under the control of the board of health. The records are kept in the office which adjoins the laboratory.

Cash book, 1911-1917.
Records, 1911-1917.

18. DAIRY, FOOD, AND SANITARY INSPECTOR.

This officer is now appointed by the board of health. Recent records, unless otherwise stated, are kept in the office adjoining that

of the secretary of the board of health, but early records are stored in the basement and are not now accessible.

Cash books:

Cash books, 1905-1912, 2 volumes.

Cash record, 1917.

Vouchers:

Voucher record, 1907-8, 1913, 1916-17, 3 volumes.

Vouchers, 1913-1917, 3 drawers.

Ledgers:

Ledgers, 1913-1916, 2 volumes.

Ledger of fees and appropriations, 1915-1917.

Index to ledgers, 3 volumes.

Criminal complaints, 1915-16, 1 bundle.

Scale inspection reports, 1915-1917, 3 drawers.

Applications for license, Babcock test, 1915-1917. Loose bundles.

Reports to treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Correspondence, 1915-1917, 8 drawers.

Report and daily deposit slips, 1917, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

Hotel and slaughter house score cards, 2 drawers.

Daily reports of deputy inspectors, 2 drawers.

19. HORTICULTURAL INSPECTOR.

For records, see Board of Horticultural Inspection.

20. BEE INSPECTOR.

See Board of Horticultural Inspection.

21. VETERINARY SURGEON.

The governor appoints the state veterinary surgeon, who executes laws governing the live stock interests, and appoints deputy inspectors for live stock inspection districts which are created by the live stock sanitary board. Unless otherwise stated, records are in the office of the veterinary surgeon.

Time books, 1905-1914, 2 volumes.

Brand records, 1905-1917, 12 volumes.

Stallion record, 1909-1917, 3 volumes.

Ledger, 1910-1917, 3 volumes.

Claim vouchers, bounty claims, predatory animal claims, 1911-1917, 18 drawers.

Serum account, 1913-1916, 4 volumes.

Cash books, 1915-1917, 2 volumes.

Reports to the treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Health certificates, 1916, 1 drawer.

Sheep inspection, 1916, 1 drawer.

Post-mortem file, 1916.

Correspondence, 1916-1917, 8 drawers. Early correspondence is stored in the basement.

Receipts and daily deposit slips, 1917, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

Quarantine, 2 drawers.

Bills of sale, brands, 1 drawer.

Inspecting cars, 1 drawer.

22. LAW LIBRARIAN.

Before the period of statehood, the secretary of the Territory was also the law librarian.

TERRITORY.

Law library account books, 1883, 1885-86, 2 volumes. Vault 2.

List of books received by the law library, 1885. Vault 2.

STATE.

File of receipts of books sent out, 1901-1917.

List of bills, 1912-1917.

Correspondence, 1908-1917.

23. COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, LABOR, AND STATISTICS.

This office was abolished in 1915 and none of its records were found.

24. HAY AND GRAIN INSPECTOR.

This office was abolished in 1913. No records of the office were brought to light.

C. PERMANENT BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS.

25. BOARD OF LAND COMMISSIONERS.

This board is composed of the governor, the superintendent of public instruction, the secretary of state, the attorney general, and the auditor. Under regulations established by law it controls and sells State lands, lands given by the National Government to State institutions, and Carey Act lands. Most of the records are kept in the land department office in the capitol, but one group of documents is in the dairy, food, and sanitary office, another group in the basement, and a third group in a vault in the old capitol. Adjoining the land department office is a small vault which is referred to below as vault 7. The vault in the old capitol is designated as vault 8. When the location of land department documents is not specifically stated below, they are in the main office in the capitol.

Abstract books, 128 volumes. Vault 8.

Minutes, 1891-1917.

Ledger, 1891-1915, 7 volumes.

Cash books, 1893-1912, 8 volumes. Vault 8.

Cash books, 1909-1917, 5 volumes.

Cash books, bonds, loans, and warrants, 1911-1914. Vault 8.

Note register, 1891-1902. Vault 8.

Leases:

Lease record, 1891-1900, 1912-1917, 16 volumes.

Lease record, 1901-1911, 5 volumes. Vault 8.

Public land lease record, 1892-1899. Vault 8.

Leases—Continued.

- Lease application register, 1898-1911. Vault 8.
- Lease assignment record, 1898. Vault 8.
- Register of State land leases, 1899-1900. Vault 8.
- Applications to lease, 1912-1917, 13 files.
- Lease journal.

Sales:

- Sale record, 1891-92. Vault 8.
- Record of certificates of sale, 1891-92. Vault 8.
- Certificates of sale, 1891-1917, 21 volumes.
- Sales, 1903-1917, 10 files.
- Sales receipts, 1909-1915, 5 files.

Loans:

- Loan application register, 1892-1898. Vault 8.
- Canceled loans, 1909, 1 bundle.

Deeds:

- Warranty deeds to public lands, 1890-1917, 30 files.
- Deed record, 1891-1917.
- Right-of-way deeds, 1905-1917, 6 files.
- Right-of-way deed book, 1910.

Record book of declaration of forfeiture, 1898. Vault 8.

School lands:

- School land record, 1891-1917, 7 volumes.
- Certificate of school land sale record, 1892.
- Abstract book, school lands, 1898-99. Vault 8.
- Record of indemnity school lands granted to Idaho, 1905-6, 3 volumes. Vault 8.
- Indemnity school lands ledgers, 3 volumes.
- School lands transfer register, 1902-1907, 2 volumes.

School bonds:

- Journal of school bonds, 1912. Vault 8.
- School bonds list, 1912-1915. Vault 8.

Carey Act:

- Carey Act, record of entry, 1900-1904, 1907, 1913-1917, 3 volumes.
- Carey Act, record of entry, 1905-6, 1908-1912, 5 volumes. Vault 8.
- Applications for Carey lands, 1903-1912, 6 volumes. Vault 8.
- Applications for Carey lands, 1913-1917.
- Entries on Carey Act projects, 1903-1917, 250 drawers.
- Land, water, and irrigation companies, and Carey Act companies, 1903-1917, 1 file.
- Carey Act trust-fund papers, 1903-1917, 7 files.
- Carey land patent records, 1905-1917, 9 volumes.
- Register of applications for entry of Carey Act lands, Salmon River, 1908.
- Carey Act project records, 8 volumes.
- Carey lands, plat books, 3 volumes.

Receipts and expenditures:

- Register of land receipts, 1893-1907, 3 volumes. Vault 8.
- Registers, report and receipt. 1905-1917, 4 volumes.
- Register of daily cash receipts, 1917.
- Record of receipts and disbursements, suspense fund, 1917.
- Register, report, and treasurer's receipts, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's Office, room 1.

Land appraisalment book, 1905-1917.

State funds journal, 1912-1915.

Homestead entries, 1891-1917, 5 files.

Record of assignments, 1891-1917, 1 volume.

Record of certified lands, 1894, 1 volume. Vault 8.

Record of penitentiary and insane asylum lands, 1905-6, 1 volume. Vault 8.

Special land grants:

Records of special land grants, 1889-1894, 3 volumes. Vault 8.

Special grant certificate record, 1891-1917, 2 volumes.

Special grant record, 1893-1905, 1 volume.

King Hill project papers, 1915-16, 1 file.

Payette Lakes fire protection roads, 1917, 1 file.

Southern Idaho Cooperative fire protection vouchers, 1917, 1 file.

Lava Hot Springs:

Bank check record, Lava Hot Springs, 1916-17. Kept in Dairy, Food, and Sanitary Office.

Ledger, Lava Hot Springs, 1916. Kept in Dairy, Food, and Sanitary Office.

Cash book, Lava Hot Springs, 1915-16, 3 volumes. Kept in Dairy, Food, and Sanitary Office.

Maintenance fund papers, 1911-1917, 4 files.

Timber lands:

Book of certificates of timber land sales, 1901-1906.

Timber estimates, 1905.

Land appraisements, 1905-1917, and timber-land appraisements, 17 volumes.

Book of timber estimates [n. d.]. Vault 8.

Book of notices of timber-land sales, 1915.

Vouchers:

Miscellaneous vouchers, 1891-1907, 1 file.

Voucher record, 1915-16.

Miscellaneous funds, 1913-14, 1 file.

Correspondence:

Most of the correspondence, 1900-1913, is stored in the basement.

Mortgage-loan correspondence, 1890-1917, 22 drawers.

Correspondence docket, 1892-1895, 2 volumes. Vault 8.

Letter books, 1900-1907, 5 volumes.

Letter book, 1907. Vault 8.

Correspondence, 1913-1917, 12 drawers.

Certificate records:

Canceled certificates, special, 1902-1917, 11 files.

Extension certificate record, 1891-92.

Record, 1891-1907.

Releases of cut-over land, 1913-1917, 1 file.

Tax papers, 1913-1917, 1 file.

Offered applications to purchase, 1915-1917, 4 files.

Purchaser's index. Vault 8.

Reports to the treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Transcript of approval of claims, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's Office, room 1.

Lists filed with State auditor, 1917, 1 file.

Bonds and loans, daily deposit slips, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's Office, room 1.

Orders for warrants, 1917, 1 file. Auditor's Office, room 1.

Plat books:

Plat books, 8 volumes.

Plat and abstract book of Lewiston land, 1899. Vault 8.

Plat book [n. d.]. Vault 8.

Miscellaneous papers, 1900-1917, 15 files.

26. HIGHWAY COMMISSION.

The highway commission was organized in 1913 and is composed of the secretary of state and two other members appointed by the governor. The commission appoints a highway engineer and the records are kept in his office in the old capitol, unless otherwise designated. Before 1913 the entire work of State road construction was handled by a State highway engineer without a governing commission.

Road matters, 1905-6. Files of paper. Vault 4.

Wagon roads, duplicate vouchers. 1905-6. Vault 4.

Record, 1913-1917, 1 volume. Vault 1.

Field note books, 1913-1917, about 500 volumes.

Cost ledger, 1913-1917.

Vouchers:

Ledger and voucher record, 1913-1917.

Voucher files, 1913-1917, 17 drawers.

Correspondence:

Correspondence of the secretary of state, who is secretary of the commission, regarding highways and automobile tax, 1913-1915, 3 boxes. Vault 3.

Correspondence, 1913-1916, 4 files.

Highway contracts and bonds, 1914-1915, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Reports of county and highway districts, 1915-1917, 1 drawer.

Journal, 1917.

Appropriation ledger, 1917.

Deeds for right of way, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Plans, profiles, and designs, 4 cases.

27. PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSION.

This commission was created in 1913 and is composed of three members appointed by the governor. Its records are kept in filing cases in the office.

Minute book, 1913-1917.

Register of actions, 1913-1917, 2 volumes.

Informal cases closed, 3 drawers

Formal and informal cases, 1913-1917, 8 drawers.

Exhibits used at hearings, 1913-1917, 1 drawer.

Reports of special investigations, 1913-1917, 1 drawer.

Book of general orders, 1913-1917.

Orders of the commission, 1913-1917, 1 drawer.

Annual reports, electric, water, telephone, warehouse, vessels, irrigation, car, gas, railroads, express, 1913-1917, 10 drawers.

Transportation schedules, 1913-1917, 20 drawers.

Calendars, 1913-1917, 4 volumes.

Order books, 1913-1917, 2 volumes.

Bill register and invoice record, 1 volume.

Voucher record, 1913-1917, 1 volume.

Correspondence, 1913-1917, 20 drawers.

28. BOARD OF EDUCATION.

This board is composed of five members, one being appointed every year by the governor for a five-year term, and the superintendent of public instruction who is ex-officio a member. The board of education also acts as a board of regents of the University of Idaho. The control of the entire educational system of the State since 1912 has been concentrated under the board of education. The commissioner of education appointed by the board is powerless, and there are no clearly defined spheres of activity for the commissioner and the superintendent of public instruction. The records of the board are kept in the office in the capitol building.

Proceedings, 1892-1910.

Minutes, 1911-1917, 6 volumes.

Apportionment record, 1911-1917.

Correspondence, 1911-1917, 13 drawers.

Vouchers, 1913-1917.

Record of appropriations, 1913-1917, 2 volumes.

Annual reports of county superintendents, 1913-1917, 4 volumes.

Press bulletins, 1913-1917. 1 drawer.

Insurance register, 1914-1917.

Joint bulletin distribution record, 1916-1917.

Cash record, 1917.

Bonds, book contracts, deeds, 1 drawer.

State institution deeds, 1 drawer.

Insurance policies, State institutions, 3 drawers.

Board of text-book commissioners—Proceedings, 1893-1899.

Summer school normal commission—Minutes, 1911.

29. BOARD OF EXAMINERS.

This board consists of the governor, the secretary of state, and the attorney general. It has power to examine all claims against the State, except salaries or compensation of officers fixed by law, and no claims, with the above exception, shall be passed upon by the legislature without first having been considered and acted upon by the board.

Record, 1890-1917, 4 volumes. Vault 1.

Record of bills allowed, 1899-1900. Vault 2.

Book of claims, 1890-1917. Vault 1.

Journal, 1890-1917, 3 volumes. Vault 1.

Day book, 1890-1917. Vault 1.

Minutes book, 1913-1917. Auditor's office, room 1.

Orders and motions, 1917, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

30. BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.

This board is composed of the governor, the secretary of state, the auditor, the attorney general, and the treasurer. Its chief busi-

ness is to assess the property of public service corporations and to equalize the assessed valuation of property between counties.

Proceedings:

Proceedings, 1893-1902. Vault 7.

Proceedings, 1893-94. Auditor's office, room 2.

Proceedings, 1903-4, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

Minutes:

Minutes books, 1903-1909, 2 volumes. Auditor's office, room 2.

Minutes books, 1913-1917. Auditor's office, room 1.

Correspondence, 1917, 4 drawers. Auditor's office, room 1.

31. BOARD OF STATE PRISON COMMISSIONERS.

This board is composed of the governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. The board appoints the warden of the State prison and has general supervision of the institution. Little is known of the prison in territorial days, the only record which was brought to light being a register of convicts, 1884-1889, which was also used by the State warden until 1896.

Register of convicts, 1884-1896, 2 volumes. Vault 4.

Register of the prison, 1892. The volume also contains many loose papers connected with prison affairs. Vault 2.

Record, 1893-1917, 2 volumes. Vault 1.

Reports:

Reports, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Reports of the warden, 1893-94, 1906, 2 volumes. Vault 4.

Reports of the warden, 1901-1914, 5 drawers. Vault 1.

Reports of the warden to the State treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Descriptions of convicts, 3 drawers. Vault 1.

Investigation papers. Vault 4.

32. BOARD OF PARDONS.

The governor, secretary of state, and attorney general constitute the board of pardons. The board has power to remit fines and forfeitures, and to grant commutations and pardons. The governor has only the power to grant reprieves until the next meeting of the board.

Record, 1891-1917. Vault 1.

Proceedings, 1917, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Record of pardons, 1906-1911. Vault 1.

Pardon papers. Miscellaneous group of applications for pardon, protests against pardons, and pardons granted. 1 drawer. Vault 2.

Pardon papers, 1904-1917, 12 drawers. Vault 1.

Pardon papers, cases pending, 1917, 2 drawers. Vault 1.

Applications for pardon, 1912, 13 drawers. Vault 1.

Pardon petitions, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Pardons denied, 1917, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

33. BOARD OF HEALTH.

The board of health, which was organized in 1907, is composed of the attorney general, the State engineer, two physicians who are appointed by the governor, and another physician who is appointed by the other members of the board and who acts as secretary. The board appoints a dairy, food, and sanitary inspector, a deputy, a chemist, a bacteriologist, and necessary assistants. The records are kept in the office of the secretary of the board.

Minutes, 1907-1917.

Register of marriage, 1907-1917, 3 volumes.

Vouchers:

Record of vouchers, 1907-1917.

Vouchers, 1911-1917.

Record of embalmers, 1909-1914.

Record of examiners of embalmers, 1909-1914.

Correspondence, 1911-1917, 6 drawers and several paper files. Correspondence before 1911 is stored in the basement.

Birth and death certificates, indexes, and records, 1911-1917.

Cash book of embalmer's fund, 1913-1917.

Cash record, 1916-17, 2 volumes.

34. BOARD OF HORTICULTURAL INSPECTION.

This board, which was established in 1903, is composed of five members who are appointed by the governor every two years. The board appoints a State horticultural inspector, who is also ex officio the State bee inspector. The records, unless otherwise stated, are kept in the office of the inspector.

Minutes of the board, 1903-1917, 2 volumes.

Correspondence, 1903-1917, 20 drawers and paper files.

Ledgers and cash books:

Ledger, 1904-1911, 2 volumes.

Ledger and cash book, 1913-1916.

Cash book, 1917.

License books, 1909-1917, 14 volumes.

Claims:

Claims, 1909-1917, 3 files.

Claim books, 1913-1917, 3 volumes.

Journal, 1912.

Reports of deputies, 1914-1917, 2 files.

Reports to treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Daily deposit slips, and reports, 1917, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

Bonds, 1 file.

Miscellaneous papers, 3 files.

35. LIVE STOCK SANITARY BOARD.

This board is composed of seven members appointed by the governor, three representing the sheep interests, three the cattle interests, and one the horse interests. The board has never been of great im-

portance, and the actual work is carried on by the State veterinary surgeon. Such records as exist will be found listed under Veterinary Surgeon.

36. BOARD OF CANVASSERS.

The governor, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer, and attorney general, or any three of them constitute the board of canvassers. The business of the board is to canvass the abstracts of votes in National and State elections, and determine who are elected.

Record of elections, 1890-1916, 2 volumes. Vault 1.

37. DEPOSITORY BOARD.

The laws regulating the deposit of State money or State funds have been on the statutes since 1905, but in 1915 the legislature passed a very complete depository law creating a State depository board consisting of the governor, secretary of state, and the attorney general. Prior to 1915 the same officers had some supervision over the deposit of the State funds, but their powers were not broad nor well defined. The depository board acts upon appeals from persons dissatisfied with the rulings of the bank commissioner.

Record, 1915-1917. Auditor's office, room 1.

Appeals and papers, 1917, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

Reports of, as a board of appeals, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

38. BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF SOLDIERS' HOME.

The soldiers' home, located at Boise, is under the control of a board of trustees composed of the governor, secretary of state, and the attorney general.

Record, 1893-1917. Vault 1.

Reports, 1907-1912, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Other reports. Vault 4.

39. BOARD OF MANAGEMENT OF CAPITOL BUILDING AND GROUNDS.

The board is composed of the governor, the secretary of state, and the treasurer. The records of the board are variously designated as those of the capitol building commission, the capitol building board, and the board of trustees of capitol building and grounds, and the board of trustees of public buildings.

Record of the board of trustees of public buildings, 1893-1917. All notations are headed "capitol building board." Vault 1.

Record of the capitol building commission, 1905-1915, 3 volumes. Vault 1.

40. BOARD OF MEDICAL EXAMINERS.

The board is composed of six physicians representing at least three schools of medicine. With the exception of the one item mentioned below, the records of the board are in the keeping of the secretary, Dr. C. A. Dettman, of Burke.

Applications, 1903-4. Vault 4.

41. BOARD OF OSTEOPATHY.

The board is composed of five members. The records are kept by the secretary, Dr. E. G. Houseman, of Nampa.

42. BOARD OF DENTAL EXAMINERS.

This board is composed of five members. The records are in the keeping of the secretary, Dr. Albert A. Jessup, of Boise.

43. BOARD OF OPTOMETRY.

This board is composed of three members. The records are in the keeping of the secretary, Edwin S. Owen, of Boise.

44. BOARD OF PHARMACY.

The board is composed of three members. The records are in the possession of the secretary, E. E. Colpin, of Oakley.

45. BOARD OF EXAMINATION AND REGISTRATION OF GRADUATE NURSES.

The board is composed of three members. The secretary has the records.

46. BOARD OF VETERINARY MEDICAL EXAMINERS.

The board is composed of three members. The records are either in the keeping of the secretary of the board or in the office of the State veterinary.

47. STATE GRAIN COMMISSION.

This commission was composed of three members appointed by the governor for two years. It has now been supplanted by the farm markets department. No records of the commission were found.

48. BOARD OF ARBITRATION.

This board is composed of two labor commissioners and the judge of the district where there is business for the board. Upon petition of 25 people the board investigates strikes and lockouts, and attempts to settle labor disputes. No records were brought to light during the survey.

49. LIBRARY COMMISSION.

This commission is composed of the attorney general, secretary of state, superintendent of public instruction, and the president of the State university. It has charge of the traveling libraries and appoints a librarian. No records of the commission were found.

D. SPECIAL COMMISSIONS, BOARDS, AND OFFICES.

50. SUPREME COURT BUILDING AND LIBRARY COMMISSION.

Minutes, 1903-1905. Vault 4.

51. FISCAL BOARD HAVING SALE OF BONDS.

Minutes, 1905. Auditor's office, room 1.

52. COMMISSION TO LOCATE NORTHERN ASYLUM.

Minutes, 1905-1910. Auditor's office, room 1.

53. COMMISSION TO REVISE THE IRRIGATION LAWS.

Created in 1915. No records were found.

54. COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE WAGES OF WOMEN AND MINORS.

Created in 1915. No records were found.

55. LABOR COMMISSION.

No records were found.

56. CODE COMMISSIONER.

The office was created in 1917 to codify the laws of Idaho. No records were found.

57. BOARD OF CONTROL OF HEYBURN PARK.

This board is composed of the governor, the game warden, and one other. No records were found.

58. LUMBER INSPECTORS.

There are three lumber inspectors. No records were found.

E. RECENTLY CREATED BOARDS AND OFFICES.

The last legislature created several boards and offices which will be established in 1917 or 1918. For the assistance of future investigators, it seems necessary to name them.

59. Board of Accountancy.

60. Board of examiners of architects.

61. Industrial accident board.

62. Insurance manager of State industrial insurance fund.

F. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The educational institutions of Idaho are: (63) the University of Idaho, at Moscow; (64-65) the normal schools at Lewiston and Albion; (66) the Academy of Idaho at Pocatello; (67) the Industrial Training School at St. Anthony; and (68) the school for the deaf and blind at Gooding. Records will be found at the institutions with the exception of the extension department of the university which maintains an office in the capitol.

UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO: EXTENSION DEPARTMENT.

Annual reports of staff members, 1910-1917, 1 file.

Correspondence, 1914-1917, 8 files.

Voucher books, 1914-1917, 5 volumes.

Account book, 1915-1917.

Boys and girls club work, 12 files.

G. OTHER STATE INSTITUTIONS.

The institutions other than educational are (69) the State penitentiary at Boise; (70) the soldiers' home at Boise; (71) the insane asylum at Blackfoot; (72) northern Idaho sanitarium at Orofino; and (73) the sanitarium at Nampa. The records of the penitentiary will be found at the institution or tabulated under board of State prison commissioners and board of pardons. The records of the soldiers' home are at the institution or tabulated under board of trustees of soldiers' home. The records of the insane asylum will be found at Blackfoot except a few reports kept at the capitol in vaults 4 and 5. Records of the northern Idaho sanitarium are at Orofino and those of the sanitarium are at Nampa, except receipts for 1917, which are to be found in the auditor's office, room 1.

H. STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The society was established in 1907. The office and museum are in the old capitol building. The society has devoted itself to the collection of historical curios, and possesses but few books, newspapers, and manuscripts. Its records are also very scanty.

Record of articles, books, etc., loaned and presented, 2 volumes.

Cash book, 1907-17.

I. EXPOSITION PAPERS.

Idaho was represented at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, at the Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exposition in 1909, and at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915. The following papers have been preserved:

COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

Papers connected with the Idaho exhibition, 1893. Bundle of unarranged papers. Vault 2.

Correspondence, 1893. Vault 4.

ALASKA-YUKON PACIFIC EXPOSITION.

Idaho building register, 1909. Vault 8.

Papers, 1909. Vault 4.

PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.

Papers. Vault 4.

J. SUPREME COURT.

The records of the supreme court, unless otherwise stated, are kept in a large vault off the judges' chambers.

TERRITORY.

Record of opinions, 1864-1889, 4 volumes.

File of original records on appeal and briefs of council, 1864-1889. About 250 cases.

Court record, 1864-1889, 3 volumes. The last volumes also contain State records, 1890-1893.

Minutes book, 1867-1873.

Records in bankruptcy, 1863-1875.

Register, 1863-1889, 2 volumes.

Clerk's notes, 1869-1873, 1885-1889, 4 volumes.

Bar calendar, 1872.

STATE.

File of original records on appeal and briefs of council, 1890-1917. About 2,800 cases.

Journal, 1890-1895, 1911-12, 2 volumes.

Court record, 1890-1917, 7 volumes.

Register of actions, 1890-1917, 3 volumes.

Original opinions of the court, 1890-1917, 30 volumes.

Index of State cases.

Clerk's correspondence, 1890-1917, 50 volumes.

Clerk's notes, 1891-92, 1894-1908, 5 volumes.

Journal of citizenship, 1894-1906, 2 volumes.

Cash books of the clerk of the court, 1909-1911, 1914-1916, 2 volumes.

Court stenographer's quarterly reports, 1911. 1 file. Auditor's office, room 1.

Clerk's reports to treasurer, 1915-1917, 1 file. Vault 5.

Expense account, 1915-16. In same volume with records in bankruptcy, 1863-1875.

Clerk of the supreme court, quarterly reports and daily deposit slips, 1917, 2 files. Auditor's office, room 1.

K. LEGISLATURE.

The legislative records are kept in the vaults of the secretary of state. Two items were found in the governor's vault, but they are duplicates of documents in the keeping of the secretary of state.

TERRITORY.

Journals of the council [senate] and house of representatives, 1863-64, 1866-1889, 26 volumes. Vault 2.

Bill books, 1863-1866, 1875-1889, 17 volumes. Vault 2.

Laws, 1863-64, 1866-1889. 20 drawers. Vault 1.

Territorial laws, 4 tin boxes. Vault 1.

Journal of executive proceedings of the council, 1888-89. Vault 2.

Laws of the twelfth session received by the governor. Vault 2.

Revised code, 1887, 1 drawer. Vault 1.

Record of memorials, resolutions, and bills passed, 1888-89. Vault 2.

Revised statutes, 2 drawers. Vault 1.

STATE.

- House and senate journals, bill books, calendars, and records, 1890-1917, 153 volumes. Vault 1.
- Enrolled bills, resolutions, memorials, and vetoed bills, governors' messages, and committee reports, 1890-1917, 192 drawers. Vault 1.
- House and senate record of bills, resolutions, and memorials, 1890, 1893, 1899, and 1903, 8 volumes. Vault 2.
- Index of legislation, 1891. Vault 2.
- Bill books, 1890-1895, 8 volumes. Vault 2.
- Bills, resolutions, memorials, etc., passed in 1893. Vault 4.
- General orders of the day and special orders, house of representatives, 1894-1897, 2 volumes. Vault 2.
- Minutes of the judiciary committee of the senate, 1897, 1901, 2 volumes. Vault 2.
- Calendar of the legislature, 1897. Vault 2.
- Record of reenacted laws of 1899 and session laws of 1901. Vault 2.
- Senate bills, 1903. Vault 4.
- Enrolled laws passed at the eighth session. Vault 2.
- Minutes of proceedings in the house, 1908-9. Vault 2.
- Senate concurrent resolutions, 1908. Vault 2.
- House concurrent resolutions, 1909. Vault 2.
- Record of senate and house bills, 1909, 2 volumes. Vault 2.
- Idaho revised code, 1909. Vault 1.
- House bills, eleventh session, approved or vetoed by Gov. Hawley. Vault 4.
- Transcript of proceedings at hearings of the house investigation committee of the transactions of the various State departments, 1915. Vault 1.

IV. PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL
CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., DECEMBER 29, 1917.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The fourteenth conference of historical societies met at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on December 29, 1917. With the conference were representatives of the hereditary patriotic societies, as the subject concerned them also. The attendance was not very large from distant societies, but there was a good representation from Philadelphia and vicinity. Unfortunately the meeting was late in starting and so the business was deferred until the end and then part of it was referred to committees.

Judge Norris S. Barratt, of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia, spoke on the relation of the patriotic societies and historical societies, with special reference to cooperation in publication. Judge Barratt referred to the resolution of the hereditary patriotic societies of December, 1916, that the council of the American Historical Association appoint a committee to suggest cooperation, out of which resolution grew the present topic. He mentioned some nine hereditary patriotic societies and referred to the purposes, objects, and publications of some of these, for instance, the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania and the Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania with their valuable publications on Philadelphia colonial history; the large Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution with its publications of historical addresses and its other activities; the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania and its collection of transcripts and its publications; the Pennsylvania German Society with its collections and twenty-five annual volumes and the issue of many parts of a critical history of Pennsylvania; the Swedish Colonial Society and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He said: "The real function of these societies aside from the purely social ones, with which we have now no concern, is to publish historical books and papers upon subjects germane to their purposes of organization. State historical societies have a wider scope, as it should be their aim to preserve the legends of the villages, together with all historical material that goes to make up the history of the State and Nation while, for instance, the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution, should confine its activities to the history of the revolution exclusively and not extend it beyond. What the Sons of the Revolution, for example, want to publish and what they have published I have already given.

"The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and Dr. John Wolf Jordan, its able librarian, have always given the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution their cooperation and friendly advice and aid. Personally, I have been unable to find any duplication of effort. We may premise that shortcomings exist here as in other departments of life. We can not, therefore, hope for perfection, but we ought to make the best progress we can on the road. The object is to make those uninformed thoroughly familiar with the knowledge of what has been done in old times, with all its interesting detail and local color. These papers will, it is hoped, become a mine of information for the future historian. They are unlike general treatises or books published for sale or commercial purposes, but are merely for distribution among those belonging to a society. Of course, for kindred societies to publish the same records or duplicate practically the work of a similar society would be not only wasteful, but as a practice can not be vindicated." He summed up with the two propositions: (1.) That there should be some general clearing house, so that the hereditary patriotic societies could keep in touch with the activities of each other and the historical societies. This would be helpful in many ways, especially in preventing duplications and in suggestions for developing certain historical material. (2.) That this can best be attained by the appointment of a committee composed of representatives of the different societies, to prepare and submit definite suggestions for a method of cooperation between them in various lines of historic work.

Prof. William Libbey, of Princeton University, and a member and officer of three patriotic societies, opened the discussion, saying:

"I am rather sorry that our good friend Judge Barratt laid so much stress upon the subject of publication and so little emphasis upon the matter of cooperation. We are all agreed on the necessity for publication work, for the work already done is the best evidence that there is a need for it. The crucial point for discussion, as intimated on the program for this morning, is as to whether we can bring about a cooperation of the historical and patriotic societies in the matter of publication. Of course there is the question which might be discussed as to the value of the efforts of a great many contemporary writers on historical subjects. Some of this material may be of permanent value and more of it perhaps will not be of this character. These writers as a rule do not give us the facts as they stand, but very frequently interpretations of historical documents.

"Although a member and officer of three patriotic societies I am not authorized to represent them in any capacity, but I appear before you solely in response to the request of your secretary, and it was intimated that I should try to give the viewpoint of the patriotic societies upon this subject. These patriotic societies are widely

separated organizations and I am sorry to say that some jealousy is found to exist among them. This is absolutely subversive to all good work, but I believe that this condition could be overcome if we developed cooperation. It would be beneficial in many ways. You generally have a much better idea of a person after you have worked with him for a while and have become better acquainted with his methods. All this however would be useless unless a central office could be established and some standardization of methods could be adopted.

"Now what are the facts as far as patriotic societies are concerned. We find that societies vary in practice considerably. For example, the general society of the Sons of the Revolution, publishes little except addresses at the annual meetings. The State societies prepare more or less complete genealogical sketches of their members. The Society of Colonial Wars practically does the same thing, but the State societies as a rule publish more extended sketches of their members, particularly of the deceased members. In addition they have published a list of the ancestors of the members of their societies, giving an account of their services. The New Jersey Society has published a list of the colonial wars officers of the State. Again, the Order of Founders and Patriots pursues the policy of combining in one volume all the records of the general and State societies. In addition, I am glad to say that the members of these societies in the State of New Jersey are very much interested in the preservation of the archives of the State and are working hard to bring about the formation of a commission for this purpose.

"My recommendation upon this subject would be that a committee be appointed to deal with the whole subject; that this committee should determine just what subjects should be included in the series of publications, and that the series should be determined by the character of the material submitted. It should determine not only the selection of the material but should form a committee on publication with certain editorial functions, each society to be represented on the committee by a delegate with power. This committee should determine the size of the page, the type to be used; and the content of each article should determine the series in which it is to be published. Many publications consist of a jumble of historical, genealogical, biographical, and statistical articles. They form an imposing volume; but it is bulky and contains a lot of material which some people do not care for. If each of the articles upon these subjects were published in separate pamphlet form, similar to those of the Chicago Museum, there would be an escape from this medley and its confusion. There could be a series of each type for each society, if desired, but each pamphlet would be complete in itself. Eventually a sufficient number on a similar subject could be bound in one volume.

"The advantages of such a system are apparent. If all the societies should adopt a standard size for their publications which would accord with the view of this central committee, and should publish according to this plan, there would be very little interference with the activities of the various societies, and each would be contributing according to its financial ability. Series collected afterwards might be bound together for the use of the societies or for more general purposes. In any event such a system would promote greater interchange of opinion and more friendly relations and better acquaintance among people interested in this material, in all parts of our country."

Ex-Gov. L. Bradford Prince, of New Mexico, a representative of both historical and patriotic societies, commented on the remarks of the other speakers, and said on behalf of the historical societies: "We shall welcome all aid given by the patriotic societies, and on behalf of the patriotic societies, we shall welcome all aid given by the historical societies."

Mr. Worthington C. Ford, editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society, said: "I represent the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, both interested in bringing the historical and patriotic societies into closer relations with one another, and both willing to do all that is possible in bringing these various societies into closer alliance with the American Historical Association. In Massachusetts the first steps to effect a better cooperation among the patriotic societies in that State are yet to be taken, and there is as yet no connection for joint effort between them and the historical societies. Recently delegates of 12 patriotic societies met at a social dinner, to see if a plan of cooperation could be devised. The outcome remains to be determined. In Pennsylvania, as Judge Barratt has shown, no little progress has been made toward combination in collections and agreement upon publications, and with good results. Nothing of this exists in Massachusetts except in the specialized libraries. In former days each library was intent upon getting all it could, without much attention to fitness. Now the leading libraries buy carefully, and do not unnecessarily duplicate what is in the special libraries.

"We have in Massachusetts a League of Historical Societies which includes 34 of the local and general historical societies; but it does not seek to influence or control what each society should print, nor are its own publications of importance. The league collects a small fee from each member society and meets twice a year. The patriotic societies have pursued a course independent of each other and of all other historical societies. Their sphere of publications is much narrowed. Having issued their "service" books, it would be a waste of money to reissue the full pedigrees for the incoming generation, and thus there

should be a fund free for issues of a truly historical character. The danger lies in duplication. The orderly books, for example, tempt publication. Yet already much money has been wasted in partial publication. The general orders apply to the whole army, the brigade orders to the brigade, and the regimental orders to one regiment. Completeness requires examples of all the brigade orders and all the regimental orders. For this no society or combination of societies will suffice. The War Department, finding a large force of trained clerks in the Adjutant General's Office, on completing the Official Records of the Rebellion, began to collect the records for the War for Independence and for the War of 1812, and so great an undertaking may well be left to the National Government.

"My idea of a possible cooperation would be to assess on each society an annual fee, and to use the resulting fund in subsidizing undertakings of general scope and merit. The Colonial Dames have set a good example. They have issued the Letters to Washington to 1775, in five volumes; Correspondence of William Pitt with the American Governors, etc., in two volumes, and the Correspondence of William Shirley, in two volumes. These are works of historical value and true contributions to history, carefully edited by capable hands. The entire expense was borne by the Dames. In the scheme which I have outlined, the local society would be aided to publish, due regard being given to the quality of the material and the manner in which it has been treated. Such a plan will bring to accomplishment deserving undertakings which are now kept back for want of funds, or proper editing, or want of advice, and raise the standard of publications. As there will be many details to be considered and determined before such a cooperation as is proposed can be effected I submit the following resolution:"

Resolved, That the president of the American Historical Association appoint a committee of 13—four to be taken from historical societies, four from patriotic societies, one from the American Historical Association, and four from societies of a historical character—to consider the question of a closer cooperation among such societies, especially with a view to preventing duplication of publication and of planning a better and more systematic method of publishing historical material: this committee to report to the council of the American Historical Association at its early convenience.

The motion was carried and has been communicated to the president of the American Historical Association.

The second part of the program was devoted to discussion of the subject, "The collection of local war material by historical societies."

Prof. Harlow C. Lindley spoke of what they have been doing in the department of history of the Indiana State library. As soon as the United States became officially engaged in the war the library adopted a plan of preserving all material about the war, in the newspapers, which concerned Indiana in any way. In this way it was

hoped to add local color to the official reports. The plan has been: (1) To clip carefully all material bearing upon the military activities of the State, from the two leading daily papers of Indianapolis. As this is the capital and the center of the State, these newspapers cover the whole State, and a great national training camp located there adds importance. The material is classified under general war news, relief work—i. e., Red Cross, etc., Fort Benjamin Harrison material, draft, and registration. Under each heading the clippings are arranged chronologically, mounted and bound; (2) in a large ledger book every important event is entered in chronological order with reference to full account; (3) a card index is being made according to subject of every article in the newspapers that bears upon Indiana's part in the war. This plan is probably too ambitious for the average local historical society or library, but each could undertake the indexing of its local publications and the collecting of material of local significance. This was suggested to every local historical society and public library in the State by the department.

Dr. Buck, of the Minnesota Historical Society, indicated at some length the work being done in Minnesota. An index was started after the war began and 500 papers were collected from April 1 to August 1. Posters and programs of various meetings and a great many pictures have been collected. The number of organizations engaged in war activities is innumerable and the importance of keeping their records is emphasized by the disappearance of records of similar organizations of the Civil War. Letters from men in the military service also ought to be preserved. The State society is doing all it can and is urging the same policy upon local societies and libraries. It is important to secure as much publicity as possible and thus secure the cooperation of the people in saving everything. The newspaper men are of great importance. The question of how to care for this material arises. As it comes in it should be separated into what is worth while and what is not, and the important things filed. Many have become enthusiastic about this work in Minnesota and it is to be hoped that as a result of this impetus, the work of collecting current material will not be abandoned after the war.

It was hoped, had time allowed, to ask the representatives of the different societies present to state in what manner each was collecting war material, in order that some new ideas might be brought forth. Since that was not possible a general questionnaire has been sent to every known historical society and agency in the United States and Canada, asking them to state their activities in this line. The answers to this will be included in the handbook.

The secretary reported in brief that after the conference of 1916 the proceedings were published in February, 1917, together with the

information and statistics of activity reported by some 90 societies, in a 16-page pamphlet. The \$50 appropriated by the American Historical Association was expended, and it seemed wise to postpone asking for the contributions from historical societies until 1918. However, contributions were received from the following societies: California Genealogical, Hunterdon County (N. J.), Iowa State, Middlesex County (Conn.), New Mexico, Chester County (Pa.), Church (Pa.), Women's Canadian, of Ottawa, and Lehigh County (Pa.). Other societies have promised contributions.

For completing the organization of the conference as provided for last year, three committees were appointed: on nomination of chairman of fifteenth conference, F. H. Severance; on financial contributions and voting, S. J. Buck; on committees and officers, Prof. B. F. Shambaugh. Answers to the questionnaire have been received in gratifying numbers, 168 (since the conference to date 182), which means a good basis for the Handbook of Historical Societies proposed for 1918. Other points in the report came up later in the business meeting.

The committee on organization reported in favor of placing the treasurer's duties with the secretary for 1918 and of having the audit made by the American Historical Association auditors. Carried.

The committee on nomination of chairman reported in favor of the reelection of Mr. Montgomery. Carried.

The committee on financial contributions and voting powers recommended the appointment of the chairman, secretary, and a third member to devise a plan for 1918, the final plan to be voted on at the next conference. Carried.

This committee has since reported the following working plan:

1. The conference of historical societies includes all historical, genealogical, numismatic and similar societies, historical commissions, State departments of history, other historical agencies, and hereditary patriotic societies, general, State, and local.

2. Such societies as desire to further the progress of historical societies and their mutual interests shall contribute such amount as shall seem suitable to them in view of their resources, membership, and interest. The suggested basis is 1 cent per member (but not over \$10) with approximately \$5 for commissions and departments. From societies which desire to show interest but whose resources are small or otherwise appropriated, contributions of any size are asked.

3. Societies and agencies of whatever kind which contribute on the proposed basis shall have a vote at the annual conference by proxy or delegate, or by mail.

4. Such publications as shall be issued by the conference shall have a price set upon them at which the public can buy. Contributing societies shall receive such number of copies as they desire, more than one, as their contribution shall be proportionate to the price.

The conference heard with regret statements from the chairman and others, that owing to war conditions in Washington and the tremendously increased need for offices and bureau rooms, certain old papers and archives had been removed and sold or destroyed. As

these are known to have included some very valuable historical papers, the conference passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the conference strongly urge a temporary housing, either in Washington or near by, of this material in order eventually to restore it to permanent archives.

Resolved, That the conference cooperate with the public archives commission in urging the proper authorities to preserve these records.

Resolved, That the secretary of the conference bring these resolutions before the 500 historical societies of the country, urging them to take action on the subject.

It is suggested that the historical societies of the country take this matter up and communicate with their Congressmen and Senators, who will doubtless be interested, upon the proper representation being made to them, in seeing to the preservation in some way of these valuable records.

Those present, as far as names could be obtained, were the following persons, representing at least 58 historical societies (patriotic societies not included):

Ames, Herman V., American Antiquarian Soc.
 Balch, Thomas W., American Antiquarian Soc.
 Barratt, Norris S., Pa. Hist. Soc.
 Bradford, J. E., Ohio Valley and Ohio Archaeological and Hist. Societies.
 Brown, Mrs. R., Friends Hist. Soc.
 Browning, C. H., Cal. Genealogical Soc.
 Buck, S. J., Minn. Hist. Soc.
 Campbell, Miss J., American Catholic, City Hist. societies.
 Connor, R. D. W., N. C. Hist. Commission, N. C. Literary and Hist. Assoc.
 Cope, Gilbert, Chester Co. Hist. Soc.
 Deats, H. E., Hunterdon Co. Hist. Soc.
 Ely, Warren S., Bucks Co. Hist. Soc.
 Ford, Worthington C., Mass. Hist. Soc., Colonial Soc. of Mass.
 Fox, Miss, Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc.
 Gunmere, Mrs. F. E., Friends Hist. Soc.
 Hammond, Otis G., N. H. Hist. Soc.
 Hayes, J. Carroll, Chester Co. Hist. Soc.
 Heilman, Samuel P., Lebanon Co. Hist. Soc., Pa. Federation of Hist. Societies.
 Hostetter, A. L., Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.
 Jellett, E. C., City Hist. Soc., Site and Relic Soc.
 Jordan, J. W., Pa. Hist. Soc., Colonial Soc. of Pa., Swedish Hist. Soc.
 Kean, G. B., Pa. Hist. Soc., American Philosophical Soc., Colonial Soc. of Pa., Swedish Hist. Soc.
 Keller, H. A., McCormick Hist. Soc.
 Konkle, B. A., Pa. Hist. Soc.
 Landis, G. C., Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.
 Leach, J. Granville, Old Planters Soc., Genealogical Soc. of Pa.
 Lewis, F. G., American Baptist Hist. Soc.
 Libbey, William, N. Y. Hist. Soc. N. J. Hist. Soc.
 Lindley, Harlow, Ind. Hist. Soc., Ind Hist Commission.
 McGeorge, W., Gloucester Co. Hist. Soc.
 Magee, D. H., Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc.
 Montgomery, Thomas L., Pa. Hist. Soc., Pa. Hist. Commission, Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc.

Myers, A. C., Delaware Co. Hist. Soc.
 Nead, D. M., Pa.-German Hist. Soc., Berks Co. Hist. Soc.
 Paine, Mrs. C. S., Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc.
 Paltsits, V. H., various societies, including Prince Soc., Me.
 Prince, L. Bradford, N. Mex. Hist. Soc., National Hist. Soc.
 Reilley, J., American Numismatic Soc.
 Robinson, Morgan G., Va. Hist. Soc.
 Severance, F. H., Buffalo Hist. Soc.
 Shambaugh, B. F., Iowa State Hist. Soc.
 Shearer, A. H., Grosvenor Library.
 Sioussat, Mrs. A. W., Colonial Dames.
 Smedley, Miss C., Frankford Hist. Soc.
 Sullivan, James, N. Y. Hist. Soc.
 Spofford, E. C., Pa. Hist. Soc.
 Turner, Joseph B., Presbyterian Hist. Soc.
 Wall, A. J., N. Y. Hist. Soc.
 Wren, Christopher, Wyoming Hist. and Geological Soc.

AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX.

REPORTS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1917.¹

NATIONAL, SECTIONAL, RELIGIOUS

American Antiquarian Society. Worcester. 1812. 175 members. Waldo Lincoln; Charles L. Nichols. Mail to Clarence S. Brigham, librarian. Publications: Proceedings, 2 issues. Large additions of early newspapers, imprints, book-plates, genealogies, and general Americana.

American Baptist Historical Society. Philadelphia; library, Chester, Pa. 1853. Prof. Spencer B. Meeser, D. D.; Rev. John W. Lyell, D. D., 1701 Chestnut St. Rearrangement of much of the library collection looking toward proper cataloging.

American Catholic Historical Society. Philadelphia. 1884. 783 members. James M. Willcox; Jane Campbell, 715 Spruce St. Publications: Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, March, June, September, December, 1917. Shelving and cases have been built in the newspaper and periodical rooms at a cost of \$533. The library has received a valuable incunabulum, "Origen against Celsus," the first book published by George Herolt, Rome, 1481.

American Jewish Historical Society. New York City. 1892. 378 members. Cyrus Adler; Albert M. Friedenberg, 38 Park Row. Publications: No. 25; Nos. 26 and 27 now in press.

The American Numismatic Society. Broadway between 155th and 156th St., New York City. 1858. Nearly 400 members. Edward T. Newell; Sydney P. Noe. Publications: American Journal of Numismatics; Proceedings of the American Numismatic Society. The medal to commemorate the declaration of war by the United States was issued in October. A collection of coins and medals relating to Luther and the German Reformation was on exhibition during November. An exhibition of the J. Pierpont Morgan loan collection of coins and medals was opened in December.

American Society of Church History. 1888; merged in the American Historical Association, 1896; reorganized 1906; incorporated 1916. 155 members. Prof. David Schley Schaff, D. D.; Prof. Wm. Walker Rockwell, 3041 Broadway, New York, room 420. Publications: Papers of the American Society of Church History, second series, vol. 5.

¹ In December, 1917, a questionnaire was sent to all historical societies which were known to be alive, others whose status was not known, to all general societies of an hereditary patriotic nature, and to such State societies of the latter class as were known to be interested in historical work. It was expected to publish a handbook of these societies in 1918, and as a result a very considerable number of replies was received. In addition, in preparation for the handbook, societies which had ever reported to the conference were included, and those which were known from other sources. It was found impossible to publish the handbook in 1918; therefore the former procedure of publishing, in this form, was followed and this will be used as a basis for the handbook in 1919. As a consequence there are more societies listed here than replies were received, and because the publication has been postponed, some statements have been changed, though no attempt to include facts later than 1917 has been made.

National Society Colonial Dames XVII Century. Organized 1914 in San Francisco, at Panama Exposition during meeting of International Genealogical Society. Miss Stella Pickett Hardy, Batesville, Ark., president general; Miss Mary Florence Taney, secretary general, 309 E. 3rd St., Covington, Ky. Object, establishing chairs of historical research in colleges and universities and a college of heraldry active in patriotic work.

Colonial Daughters of America, National Society. 1907. Over 400 members. Miss Mary Florence Taney; Miss Florence May Washington, Nelson Place, Newport, Ky. Great activity in regard to preparedness; patriotic meetings; Red Cross work. Erected a fountain in memory of Mrs. John Barry Taylor (Betty Washington), first president general, Colonial Daughters.

Daughters of the American Revolution, National Society. Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, D. C. 1890. 110,000 members. Mrs. George Thacher Guernsey; Miss Emma L. Crowell, recording secretary general. Publications: *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* (monthly); Report to the Smithsonian Institution; Proceedings of the twenty-sixth Continental congress, D. A. R.; Lineage Book, vols. 44 and 45. War Relief Service Committee works for war relief. Property loaned to Government for the erection of temporary office building of National Council of Defense. Have added materially to society's museum and library—to the museum, manuscripts and relics peculiar to the period of the Revolutionary War; to the library, historical and genealogical works, making the total number 8,175.

Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. Philadelphia. 1907. 300 members. Col. W. Gordon McCabe; Carl Magee Kneass, Stoneleigh Court, Phila. Erection of tablets or monuments at the graves of all signers of the Declaration of Independence. Publication, in connection with the Sons of the American Revolution, of Biographies of the Signers.

Historical Society of the Reformed Church in the United States. 40 members. Rev. James W. Crawford; Rev. Daniel G. Glass, Lancaster. Collections in storage in library of Theological Seminary of Reformed Church at Lancaster.

Huguenot Society of America. 105 E. 22nd St., New York City. 1883.

Mayflower Descendants. General Society. Made up of 17 State societies. 1897. 3,200 members. Gov.-gen., Leonard Wood; sec.-gen., Walter S. Allerton, 44 E. 23rd St., New York City. At general congress held at Plymouth, Mass., Sept. 6, 1918, plans were made for celebration in 1920.

Mennonite Historical Association. Newton, Kans. 1911. 124 members. Rev. H. R. Voth, Goltry, Okla.; Rev. H. P. Krehbiel, Newton, Kans. Publications: Report to triennial conference. Worthy of report is the historical material collected and the increase in new members.

Military Order of Foreign Wars of the U. S. 1895. About 1,000 members. Commander general, Brig. Gen. S. W. Fountain, U. S. A., retired; secretary general, Maj. David Banks, 23 Park Place, New York City.

Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Lincoln, Nebr. 1907. 1,000 members. St. George L. Sioussat; Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, Lincoln. Publications: *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, published quarterly; Proceedings, 1915-16.

Missouri Valley Historical Society. 300 members. Mrs. Nettie Thompson Grove, Kansas City, Mo.

National Genealogical Society. Washington, D. C. Miss Cora C. Curry, 1020 Monroe Street NW. Publication: Quarterly.

National Historical Society. M. T. R. Washburn, 30 East Forty-second Street, New York City.

- Naval Historical Society.* New York City. 1909, inc. 1912. 567 members. Col. Robert M. Thompson; Robert W. Neeser. Room 1618, 35 West Forty-second Street. Publications: The Dallas Papers.
- Scottish Historical Society of North America.* 1911. 109 members. John Calder Gordon. 17 Milk Street, Boston.
- Society of the Army of Santiago de Cuba.* Washington, D. C. Organized July 31, 1898, in the Governor's Palace, Santiago de Cuba. Approximately 1,000 life members, 4,105 registered. Gen. A. A. Harbach; Col. Charles A. Williams. The Ontario, Washington, D. C. Eligibility to membership absolutely restricted to officers and enlisted men who worthily participated in the campaign between the dates of June 14 and July 17, 1898.
- Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims, National Society.* 1908, inc. 1910. Gov.-gen. R. W. Littlefield; Sec.-gen. and registrar, Thomas W. Bicknell, 207 Doyle Street, Providence, R. I. Persons whose ancestors settled in any American colony before 1700 are eligible. Publication: The Colonial (quarterly).
- Swedish Historical Society of America.* F. N. Andrén, Insurance Building, Chicago, Ill.
- United Confederate Veterans.* Gen. W. E. Mickle, 820 Audubon Building, New Orleans, La.
- The Union Society of the Civil War.* New York City. 1909. 325 members. Maj. Paul Dana; Walter Rysam Jones, 65 Park Avenue.
- United States Catholic Historical Society.* New York City. 1884. 400 members. Stephen Farrelly; Joseph H. Fargis, 346 Convent Avenue. Publications: Volumes 10 and 11 of official publication, "Historical Records and Studies." Prize of \$100 given for essay contest among Catholic colleges, male and female, of the United States. Awarded to representative of Georgetown University, Mr. Louis A. Lange, subject, "The Marcus Whitman Myth and the Missionary History of Oregon."

ALABAMA.

- Alabama Anthropological Society.* Montgomery. 1909. 24 active, 38 associate members. Thomas M. Owen; Peter A. Brannon, Box 358, Montgomery. Publications: Misc. Publications, III.
- Alabama Department of History and Archives.* 1901. T. M. Owen, Montgomery.
- Alabama Historical Society.* Montgomery. 1850, 1874, 1901. Thos. M. Owen, Montgomery.
- Alabama History Teachers' Association.* Meets with Alabama Educational Assoc. in different cities. 1915. 38 members. John B. Clark; David G. Chase, 2205 15th Ave., Birmingham. Publications: Annual Proceedings for past three years. The Association has a committee working with the teachers in an effort to secure material and increase the efficiency of, patriotic teaching and work throughout the State.
- Iberville Historical Society.* Mobile. Hon. F. G. Bromberg, Mobile.
- Tennessee Valley Historical Society.* Guntersville. Hon. O. D. Street.

ARIZONA.

- Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.* 200 W. Congress St., Tucson. 1884, re-organized 1897. 247 members living, altogether over 600. Frederick Roustadt; John E. Magee.

ARKANSAS.

Arkansas Historical Association. Fayetteville. 1902. A. C. Miller; J. H. Reynolds, Conway. Publications: Vol. 4.

Arkansas Historical Commission. Little Rock. 1905. Dallas T. Herndon. This is a State board of nine members supported by State appropriations. Publications: Quarterly bulletins and biennial reports, the latter in collaboration with the Arkansas Historical Association.

CALIFORNIA.

Academy of Pacific Coast History. Berkeley. H. Morse Stephens.

California Genealogical Society. Sutro Branch of California State Library, cor. Sacramento and Webster Sts., San Francisco. 1898. 229 members. Henry Byron Phillips; Sarah Louise Kimball, 202-6 Kohl building, San Francisco. Intended publishing a new roster in 1918. In February, 1917, the California Genealogical Society placed its library under the care of the deputy state librarian, Miss Laura Steffens, at the newly established Sutro Branch.

California Historical Society. 1886. A. S. Hubbard. Masonic Temple, San Francisco.

California Historical Survey. J. M. Guinn, 5539 Monte Vista St., Los Angeles.

Historical Society of Southern California. Los Angeles. 1883. 75 members. Rockwell D. Hunt; J. M. Guinn, 5539 Monte Vista St. Publications: Collections, parts 1 and 2 of vol. X.

Society of California Pioneers. 1850. John I. Spear, Pioneer Building, 5 Pioneer Place, San Francisco.

Sons of the Revolution in the State of California. State headquarters, 619-625 Citizens' National Bank Building, Los Angeles. 1893. 380 members. Orra E. Monnette; Nelson O. Rhoades. Publications: The Liberty Bell Quarterly. Gathering material for supplement to our book, Spirit of Patriotism. Over 100 new members. Agitating need of fireproof building all our own, and ample endowment. About 500 volumes and pamphlets. Preserving current history in scrap books covering current events, California facts, Los Angeles facts, historical war pictures, war pamphlets. Genealogical departments in the following papers: Boston Transcript, Hartford Times, Norwalk (Conn.) Hour, Daily Argus (Portland, Me.), Newark News (N. J.), Desert News, etc. Gathering biographical material, however, in unorganized ways as yet. Can secure from National Museum at Washington large collection now there when we have fireproof building to accommodate same.

COLORADO.

State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado. Denver. 1879. About 100 members. L. G. Carpenter; John Parsons. Publications: The Biennial Report of the Society, 1915-16. This is a State institution.

CONNECTICUT.

Acorn Club. 1899. John Murphy; Lucius B. Barbour, Hartford.

Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science. New Haven. Dr. Geo. F. Eaton, secretary (absent on naval work); Alexander W. Evans, acting secretary. The academy occasionally publishes historical works, but otherwise is not a historical agency.

Mattatuck Historical Society. Waterbury. 1877. More than 1,000 members. Arthur Reed Kimball; Frederick Griswold Mason, P. O. B. 185, Waterbury. Publications: Ancient burying grounds of the town of Waterbury, together with other records of church and town, compiled and edited by Katherine A. Pritchard, 1917, being vol. II of the publications of the society, pp. 1-338. The Mattatuck Historical Society has given over practically its entire plant to the Waterbury chapter of the Red Cross for use in war work. Its museum cases and collections have been stored, and all work of this kind has been suspended for the period of the war. Eminent lecturers on various phases of the present war have talked to large audiences in Mattatuck Hall. The annual exhibition of paintings by American artists, however, was held as usual with marked success. In October a bronze tablet was erected in memory of Elisha Leavenworth, benefactor of the society. A second hand-book of the society is in course of preparation.

Middlesex County Historical Society. Middletown. 1902. 100 members. Rev. Azel W. Hazen, D. D.; W. J. Robinson, Middletown. Publications: Annual report.

New Haven Colony Historical Society. New Haven. 1862. 400 members. Rev. W. A. Beardsley; Thomas M. Prentice, 144 Grove Street. Publications: Ancient Records of New Haven, vol. 1, 1649-1672.

DELAWARE.

Delaware Historical Society. Wilmington. Christopher L. Ward, Equitable Bldg. 1864. 225 members. The society had occupied the Old First Church building since its organization. Owing to the sale of the land on which the Old First Presbyterian Church (built 1740) stood and the building being unsuitable, our society purchased the Old Town Hall (1795) from the city of Wilmington for \$91,000 and had plans for restoring and fireproofing the building in 1917. The war made it necessary for the Red Cross to have a large building, and this being the only one available we at once stored our books and possessions of all kinds and turned over the entire building for Red Cross purposes. Prior to the purchase of the Old Town Hall we had purchased a fine building site and had plans prepared for a suitable society building. The sale of the old colonial Town Hall brought a demand from our citizens that the historical society secure it, which we could only do by purchase.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Columbia Historical Society. District of Columbia. 1894. 213 members. Allen C. Clark, 816 Fourteenth Street NW., Washington; Miss Maud Burr Morris. Publication: Records, vol. XX.

FLORIDA.

Florida Historical Society. Jacksonville. 1902.

St. Augustine Institute of Science and History. 1884. 81 members. F. B. Matthews. Publication: Year Book.

GEORGIA.

Georgia Historical Association. Atlanta. 1917. Lucian L. Knight.

Georgia Historical Society. Savannah. 1839. 260 members. W. W. Mackall; Otis Ashmore. Publications: Proceedings of the Seventy-eighth Annual Meeting; The Georgia Historical Quarterly (W. Harden, ed.), 4 nos.

HAWAII.

Hawaiian Historical Society. Honolulu. 1892. Howard M. Ballou.

ILLINOIS.

Boone County Historical Society. Belvidere. Richard V. Carpenter.

Bureau County Historical Society. Princeton. 1912. Miss Fannie Moseley.

Champaign County Historical Society. Champaign. 1899. E. B. Greene.

Chicago Historical Society. Chicago. 1836. 1,200, exclusive of 106 honorary and corresponding members. C. A. Burley; Seymour Morris; Caroline M. McIlvaine, asst. sec., Dearborn Ave. and Ontario St. Publications: Sixtieth Anniversary Yearbook, 1916; Family History Questionnaire. Building overhauled to bring fireproof methods up to date by way of wireglass, placing fire extinguishers, etc. Lectures and museum work have been expanded along patriotic lines. Special effort has been made to collect war preparation literature and enlistment posters. The latter are displayed in the windows and on screens. The subject cataloguing of the library is making the resources more readily available than ever before.

Colored Historical Society. 1905. In care of State Historical Society. Springfield.

Evanston Historical Society. Evanston. 1898. About 150 members. Frank R. Grover; William C. Levere. J. Seymore Currey originated the society in 1898, acted as secretary 8 years, and president 10 years, until January 29, 1917. The collection now amounts to some 4,000 volumes, including pamphlets, with a museum collection of considerable value. The rooms are in the Public Library building, but hopes are entertained for a new building. Support comes chiefly from special contributions, also from dues (\$1 a year) and city council votes \$50 each year.

German-American Historical Society. Chicago. 1900. 350 members. Dr. O. L. Schmidt; Max Baum, Room 1613, Mallers Building, 5 South Wabash Avenue. Publications: Yearbook 1916, vol XVI of *Geschichtsblätter*.

The Historical Society of Quincy. Quincy. 1896. 213 members. Joseph W. Emory; Miss Mary B. Bull, cor. sec., 1550 Maine St.

Illinois Catholic Historical Society. Chicago. 1918. Wm. J. Onahan; James Fitzgerald, 617 Ashland Block. Publishes *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (quarterly).

Illinois Centennial Commission. Urbana. Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield. This is a State commission, which organized a board of authors for the Centennial History of Illinois, in five volumes. It receives \$8,500 annually.

Illinois Historical Survey. University of Illinois, Urbana. 1910. Clarence W. Alvord, 418 Lincoln Hall. The past year the survey purchased about 6,000 pages of transcripts of material from the Archives Nationales of Paris bearing on Mississippi Valley and Illinois history, and 2,700 pages of transcripts from the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, relating to the Revolutionary War and early Louisiana. The survey is cooperating with other historical agencies in five states in having a calendar made of the material on western history in the State and other departments at Washington, D. C. It is also cooperating with the Centennial Commission of Illinois in the work of publishing a five-volume history of the State.

Illinois Jewish Historical Society.

- Illinois State Historical Society.* Springfield. 1890. 1,460 members. Otto L. Schmidt; Mrs. Jessie P. Weber, Capitol Bldg. Publications: Quarterly Journal, Annual Transactions. On Oct. 5, 1918, the corner stone of a Centennial Memorial Building was laid as a part of the State's centennial observance. This building when completed will provide quarters for the State historical library and society. The Historical Society held a special centennial meeting in April, 1918.
- Jersey County Historical Society.* Jerseyville. 1893. J. W. Vinson.
- Johnson County Historical Society.* Vienna. J. C. R. Heaton.
- Kankakee County Historical Society.* Kankakee. 1906. 54 members. Dr. B. F. Uran; Mrs. Orson B. Spencer. Interested in centennial celebration of the State of Illinois, 1918.
- Knox County Historical Society.* Galesburg. 1905. Mrs. Charles A. Webster.
- La Salle County Historical Society.* Ottawa. C. C. Glover.
- McCormick Historical Association.* Chicago. 1885. Members of the Cyrus H. McCormick family and others by invitation. Herbert A. Keller, sec., 675 Rush Street. New library building completed. Addition of numerous manuscripts, books, periodicals, and newspapers falling within the period 1820-1900, relating to agriculture, the Presbyterian church, the Democratic Party, and mining, especially those which refer to harvesting machinery; the Seminary of the Northwest; Presbyterian reunion sentiment; National, State, and local campaigns, 1860-1884; and search for gold in the Carolinas, 1860-1884. Colonial furniture sufficient for a room has been discovered.
- The McLean County Historical Society.* Bloomington. Room 304, courthouse. 1892. 1,100 members. Henry McCormick; Dwight E. Frink. Publications authorized and under way. \$50,000 building fund campaign inaugurated. Steady growth of museum. Completion of membership campaign in which about one thousand were added. Society cooperating in the celebration of the Illinois centennial.
- Macon County Historical Society.* Decatur. John F. Wicks.
- Macoupin County Historical Society.* Carlinville. George Jordon.
- Madison County Historical Society.* Alton. Miss Julia Buckmaster.
- Manlius-Rutland Historical Society.* Marseilles. 1907. Frank T. Neff.
- Marenech Historical Society.* Plano. 1900. Geo. S. Faxon.
- Montgomery County Historical Society.* Hillsboro. 1905. 25 members. E. C. Richards; A. T. Strange. Publications: A history of the county written by the secretary, 1918. Have a small museum and adding to it from time to time. The county gives a room in the courthouse.
- Morgan County Historical Society.* Jacksonville. 1904. Frank J. Heintz.
- New England Society of Rockford.* Rockford. 1900.
- Peoria Historical Society.* Peoria. 1903. E. S. Wilcox; Mrs. Helen Wilson.
- Pioneer Association of Will County.* Joliet. 408 members. Hon. Dorrence Dibell; William W. Stevens.
- The Polo Historical Society.* Polo. 1904. J. W. Clinton.
- Rock Island County Historical Society.* Rock Island. John H. Hangerg.
- St. Clair County Historical Society.* Belleville. 1905. E. W. Plegge.
- Sangamon County Old Settlers Association.* Springfield. 1876.
- Tazewell County Historical Society.* Pekin. Mrs. W. R. Curran.
- Whiteside County Historical Society.* Sterling. 1903. L. C. Thorne; W. W. Davis. Income derived from city and contributions. Housed in city hall.
- Woodford County Historical Society.* 1903. 66 members. L. J. Freese; Miss Amanda L. Jennings, Eureka. Preparing manuscript for a Bulletin of the History of the Society.

INDIANA.

- Cass County Historical Society.* Logansport. 1907. About 80 members. J. Z. Powell, M. D.; Mrs. Mary E. Ballard, 100 Market Street, Logansport. All activities suspended on account of war.
- Department of Indiana History and Archives.* Indiana State Library. State-house, Indianapolis. 1913. Department of the State government. Harlow Lindley, director. Acquired papers and letters of John Tipton.
- Elkhart County Historical Society.* Goshen. 1896. 25 members. H. S. K. Bartholomew; Miss Luella Barlow. The war has engrossed the people's interest to such an extent that no more has been done than to hold the regular meetings and to provide for preserving the data relating to this county's participation in the war.
- Franklin County Historical Society.* Public Library, Brookville.
- Gary Historical Society.* Gary. 1915. 15 or 20 members. H. S. Norton; Louis J. Bailey. Gary Public Library. Acquired the Baker Collection of Indian relics, small in number but choice specimens. Mr. Baker for many years was secretary of Northern Indiana Historical Society. Number of books added to library. Cooperating with Lake County Historical Society in promoting authorship of papers and distribution of personal record sheets.
- Grant County Historical Society.* Marion. 30 members. I. M. Miller; R. L. Whitson. Income derived from dues. Housed in the city library.
- Hamilton County Historical Society.* Noblesville. 1894.
- Harrison County Historical Society.* Corydon. 1899.
- Henry County Historical Society.* Newcastle. 1886. 100 members. Adolph Rogers; John Thornburgh.
- Indiana Historical Commission.* Indianapolis. 1915. Nine members appointed by the governor. Hon. James P. Goodrich, governor of Indiana, president; Harlow Lindley, secretary. State Library, Indianapolis. Publications: *The Play-Party in Indiana*.
- Indiana Historical Society.* Indianapolis. 1831. 100 members. Daniel Wait Howe; J. P. Dunn, Dept. of Indiana History, State Library. Publications: *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association*, edited by H. Lindley; *Sieur de Vincennes identified*, by Roy; *Morgan's Raid in Indiana*, by Ewbank.
- Indiana Historical Survey.* Bloomington. 1912. History faculty of university. Logan Esarey, secretary. Publications: *Indiana Magazine of History* (quarterly); three volumes of *Publications*. We have devoted the year to completing our collections of Indiana State publications and to a collection of textbooks used in the schools during the last century.
- Jackson County Historical Society.* Seymour. 1916. 40 members. Richard A. Cox; John H. Thomas, Medora. Publications: Newspapers only. No bulletins issued yet, but will be in 1918. Erected three historical markers, including monument on site of Gen. Tipton's battleground. Cooperates with schools and library of Seymour. Arranging for records of present war. Had an exhibit of relics in connection with Indiana centenary celebration in 1916, so far as related to our county.
- Jay County Historical Association.* Portland. 1913. 45 members. Dr. John W. Hall; Miss Mary E. Boltin. Publications: Newspaper articles. Preparations made to have published a list of articles on pioneer history of the county.
- Johnson County Historical Society.* Franklin.
- Knox County Historical Society.* Vincennes. 1899.

Kosciusko County Historical Society. Warsaw.

La Porte County Historical Society. La Porte. 1906. Members, originally about 50, all pioneers or their descendants. William Niles; Mary Treat Clark, 1518 Michigan Ave. Headquarters at Public Library. Many interesting papers have been read and a tablet placed on site of old fort. Nearly all who were most deeply interested have passed away and it seems difficult to interest the present generation. Ten years ago we were younger and more alive.

Madison County Historical Society. Anderson.

Miami County Historical Society. Peru. 1916. 30 members. Hal C. Phelps; C. B. Cannon. We have a museum in the dome of the courthouse. Our hobby is the handicraft of our fathers. On each article we give a short family history. After our centennial we moved five wagon loads to the courthouse; much has been gathered since. Among the articles are pistol and scalping knife of She-pack-a-noh, the husband of Frances Slocum, the lost sister of Wyoming, and many other interesting articles. All articles are presented or loaned.

Monroe County Historical Society. Bloomington. 1905. 27 members. Dr. Logan Esarey; Dr. Ernest V. Shockley.

Montgomery County Historical Society. Carnegie Library, Crawfordsville. 1911.

Northern Indiana Historical Society. South Bend. 1895. 70 members. Dr. H. T. Montgomery; Frank A. Stover, 203 Citizens' Bank Bldg. This society's collection of books and historical objects outranks any other collection in Indiana, being exceeded in this vicinity only by the Chicago Historical Society.

Old Settlers and Historical Association of Lake County. Public library, Crown Point.

Owen County Historical Society. G. A. R. room, Spencer. 1916.

Porter County Historical Society. New Library building, Valparaiso.

Spencer County Historical Society. Rockport.

IOWA.

Davenport Academy of Sciences. Davenport. 1867. 300 members. George E. Decker; Edward K. Putnam, acting director. Collection of local historical material continued. The institution maintains its historical library and archives in a special room in a fireproof building. Mrs. Ruth Irish Preston is in charge.

Decatur County Historical Society. Decatur. About 150 members. Guy Arnold; Heman C. Smith, Lamoni. For several years the society has not manifested much activity. It is proposed to try to arouse a new interest in the summer of 1918.

Historical Department of Iowa. Des Moines. 1892. Edgar A. Harlan.

Historical Society of Linn County. Cedar Rapids. 75 members. B. L. Wick; Luther A. Brewer.

Jefferson County Historical Society. Glendale. 1903. Hiram Heaton.

Lucas County Historical Society. Chariton. 200 members. Warren S. Dungan; Mrs. F. H. Boynton. Income from members' fees. One room in Public Library.

The State Historical Society of Iowa. Iowa City. 1857. 650 members. Euclid Sanders; Benj. F. Shambaugh, superintendent. Publications: *Iowa and War* (series issued monthly); *Biography of Samuel J. Kirkwood*;

Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley; Old Fort Snelling; and The Iowa Journal of History and Politics (issued quarterly). Since the beginning of the war emphasis is being placed on military and war history so far as the researches and publications of the society are concerned.

KANSAS.

Kansas State Historical Society. Topeka. 1876. Membership 1,500, including the newspapers of Kans. George P. Morehouse; Wm. E. Connelley. Publications: List of Kansas Newspapers. Usual work; usual growth.

KENTUCKY.

Filson Club. Louisville. 1884. 200 members. Alfred Pirtle; Otto A. Rothert, 1321 Starks Building. Publications: The Kentucky River Navigation, by Mary Virhoeff, 1917; The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky prior to 1850, by Asa Earl Martin, Ph. D., 1918. Meetings first Monday of every month except July and August.

Kentucky State Historical Society. Frankfort. Mrs. Jennie C. Morton, secretary. Publications: Kentucky Historical Register.

LOUISIANA.

Louisiana Historical Society. New Orleans. 1836. 650 members active, 10 honorary. Gaspar Cusachs; Robert Glenk, corresponding secretary; Miss Grace King, recording secretary, Cabildo, Jackson Square, New Orleans. Publications: Report and Proceedings for 1916-17; Louisiana Historical Quarterly. Louisiana Historical Quarterly publication begun. Plans maturing for great celebration of bicentennial of founding of New Orleans, February 9, 10, 11, 1918. Laying of corner stone of proposed statue to Bienville, February 9, 1918. Committee sent by city of New Orleans to Paris to commemorate with French Government events which lead up to founding of New Orleans, October 24, 1918.

MAINE.

Bangor Historical Society. Bangor. 1864. 225 members. Henry Lord; Edward Mitchell Blanding. A year of reasonable activity with numerous accessions to membership and important additions to museum and library. Annual field day was held in early October at Indian Island, Old Town, Me., where the society donated an oak library table to the new Community House.

Maine Genealogical Society. Portland. 1884. 250-300 members. LeRoy F. Tobie, 457 Cumberland Avenue. On Jan. 1, 1917, total number of bound volumes, 3,943; pamphlets, 3,246.

Maine Historical Society. 485 Congress Street, Portland. 1822 (in Brunswick). 292 members. Hon. James P. Baxter; Hon. W. D. Patterson, corresponding sec.; Charles Thornton Libby, recording sec. Publications: None in 1917. In 1916, vols. 21 to 24, Collections, documentary series. No appropriation from the State this year. Museum and collection of books and manuscripts are steadily growing. Winter course of lectures was well attended. Energy at present is spent in making available mass of material, which has never been catalogued.

Piscataquis County Historical Society. Dover. 1908. 75 members. John Francis Sprague; Edgar Crosby Smith, corresponding secretary. 1917 has been a blank year; planning for activity in 1918. Propose to place memorial tablets at the birthplaces of Sir Hiram S. Maxim and Edgar Wilson Nye.

MARYLAND.

Historical Society of Harford County. Belair. A. Finney Galbreath; J. Alexis Shriver.

Maryland Historical Society. Baltimore. 1844. 772 members. Edwin Warfield; Richard H. Spencer, 'corresponding sec. Publications: Maryland Historical Magazine, vol. XII; Archives of Maryland (for the State), vol. 37. New building in course of erection. Genealogical collection of R. T. Semmes of Savannah, Ga., received by bequest. Several church records and burial-ground records copied and indexed.

Methodist Protestant Historical Society. 316 North Charles Street, Baltimore. 1912. 30 members. Rev. J. W. Trout; Rev. J. H. Straughn. The library consists of a collection of books, pamphlets, portraits, etc., on Methodism.

Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States in the State of Maryland. Baltimore. 1871. 860 members. Lieut. McHenry Howard; Capt. William L. Ritter, Reisterstown, Maryland.

Society for the History of Germans in Maryland. Baltimore. 1886. 45 members. Dr. Ernest J. Becker; J. Leonard Hoffman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Amherst Historical Society. Amherst. Organized 1899; incorporated 1903. 83 regular, 27 life members. Mrs. Mabel Loomis Todd; Rev. Chas. S. Walker, Ph. D. The oldest house in town, built in 1744, was bequeathed to the society by Mrs. Felicia E. Welch, with small fund for maintenance, and was taken over by the society for its permanent home, October 1, 1916. Many additions to our excellent collection of local antiques have been made during the year. Mrs. Anson D. Morse, in memory of her husband, many years professor of history in Amherst College, has contributed the making and care of an old-fashioned garden on the grounds of the society.

Arlington Historical Society. Arlington. 1897. Fred. C. Fowle.

The Bay State Historical League. 1903. Composed of societies ranging in membership from 8 to 1,150. Sherwin L. Cook; Alexander Starbuck, Waltham, Mass. Publications: Proceedings. Meetings are held usually with local societies in various parts of the State, the purpose being to stimulate and unify the work of local associations, to obviate duplication of work, and to indicate the needed lines of endeavor.

Bedford Historical Society. Bedford. 1893.

Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society. Pittsfield. 1878. 100 members. Joseph Pierson; Harlan H. Ballard. The society is an adjunct of the Berkshire Athenæum and Museum, and maintains no separate collection.

Beverly Historical Society. Beverly. 1891. 106 members. George E. Woodberry; Rev. B. R. Bulkeley.

Billerica Historical Society. Billerica. 1896. 57 members. Warren Stearns; Clara E. Sexton.

The Bostonian Society. The Old State House, Boston. 1881. About 1,150 members. Grenville H. Norcross; Charles F. Read. Publications: Annual Proceedings, 1917; Bostonian Society Publications, ser. 2, vol. II.

Brookline Historical Society. 1891. 225 members. Edward W. Baker.

Cambridge Historical Society. Cambridge. 1905. 200 members. William Roscoe Thayer; Samuel F. Batchelder, 721 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass. Publications: Vol. X of Proceedings; Letters of John Holmes. Only the three stated meetings, with usual papers and addresses.

Canton Historical Society. Canton. 1871. W. M. Tenney.

- Clinton Historical Society.* Clinton. 1903. 108 members. Wellington E. Parkhurst, 98 Cedar Street, Clinton. F. T. Holder endowment, \$23,540.
- Club of Odd Volumes.* Boston. 1886. 65 members. Henry W. Cunningham; James P. Parmenter.
- The Colonial Society of Massachusetts.* Boston. 1892. Membership, resident, 96; corresponding, 28; honorary, 3. Fred Norris Robinson, Ph. D.; corresponding secretary, Rev. Charles Edwards Park, D. D. Address, Henry H. Edes, treasurer, 30 State Street, Boston. Publication: *Transactions*, vol. 18. 1915-16. A bequest of \$20,000 from one of our resident members, to be added to the publications funds. The resident membership of the society is limited to 100 persons.
- The Concord Antiquarian Society.* Concord. 1886. 118 members. Adam Tolman; Henry F. Smith, jr. Occasional meetings held and papers read. Numerous articles added to the museum, including a large collection of Indian relics gathered in this locality.
- Connecticut Valley Historical Society.* Springfield. 1876. Henry S. Booth. The society has about 250 members, and publishes *Papers and Proceedings*.
- Danvers Historical Society.* Danvers. 1889.
- Dedham Historical Society.* Dedham. 1859. 180 members. Julius H. Tuttle; Charles E. Mills, recording secretary; Walter Austin, corresponding secretary. No publications since the suspension of the *Dedham Historical Register* in 1893, except this year a list of Dedham's Revolutionary soldiers, by Frank Smith. The society continues to hold monthly meetings from October to May, with an average attendance of about 90; building, with library of several thousand volumes and collection of manuscripts and an interesting collection of historical relics, open every week-day afternoon, in charge of two assistant librarians. The society aims to encourage the interest in local and general history, and to identify itself with the best civic interests.
- Dorchester Historical Society.* Dorchester. 1891. 140 members. Edwin J. Lewis, jr.; Isaac T. Ripley, 7 Mt. Everett St.
- The Essex Institute.* Salem. 1848. 589 members. William C. Endicott; George Francis Dow. Publications: *Historical Collections*, vol. 53; *Annual report*; *Inscriptions in Central Burying Ground, Boston*; *Probate records of Essex Co. quarterly courts*, vol. 5; *Vital record of Salem*, vol. 1; *Plumer Genealogy*; *History of the Eastern Railroad*; *Visitors Guide to Salem* (new edition); total, 2,688 printed pages. Purchased Pierce-Nichols House, built in Salem in 1783; the Hammond collection of clocks (152) and watches (31). Constructed an annex building to museum (28 by 56 feet) to contain the coarser furniture, tools, and utensils, transportation, basketry, stoves, etc. The library has acquired the Waters-Withington-Lea genealogical MSS., relating to English research, the largest collection now in the country, including abstracts of 50,000 wills, chancery proceedings, index of 75,000 names, copies or abstracts from 600 parish registers, acts books, note books, etc.
- Fitchburg Historical Society.* Grove St., Fitchburg. 1892. 225 members. Charles Fosdick; Ebenezer Bailey.
- The Foxboro Historical Society.* Foxboro. 1898. 24 members at present, formerly much larger. Merton R. Wheeler; Miss Mary E. Clark. Our building is unique in that it was years ago a reservoir for one or two families then in town, consequently the walls being about a foot and a little over in thickness, it is fireproof; round in shape. The hill on which it is built formerly was called Beacon Hill because beacons first were built upon it. Have a very large collection of articles.

Groton Historical Society. Groton. 1894.

The Harvard Commission on Western History. Cambridge. 1912. 13 members. Andrew McF. Davis, chairman; Roger Pierce, secretary. Address, Thomas P. Martin, archivist, Room 47, Widener Memorial Library, Cambridge. An account of the recent acquisitions of the commission is printed in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review for September, 1917. Three scrap books of ancient advertising matter in connection with the sale of the Nebraska Land Grant, have recently been added.

Harvard History Club. Cambridge. 40 members. R. F. Arragon, 62 College House.

Haverhill Historical Society. Haverhill. 1897. 300 members. E. G. Frothingham; Mrs. Mabel D. Mason, corresponding secretary, 3 Belvidere Road. At the present time we are building a fireproof assembly hall to seat 200, with cases around the sides, the gift of two members. This is joined to our main building, "The Buttonwoods," a fine old colonial home with very large fireproof room.

Hingham Historical Society. Hingham. 1914. 94 members. Charles Benjamin Barnes; William Wallace Dunt, clerk and secretary. P. O. box 25. Publication No. 1, The Old Salt Works, by Orrin Brewster Sears. Gifts received, 93 commissions, tax lists, and (manuscript) public papers relating to Hingham. Cooperated with Commonwealth in reinstating original names to highways in town. Furnished entertainment to marines and jackies stationed at Naval Reservation and Camp Hingham. Compiled epitaphs in all cemeteries and private burial tombs in Hingham. Supported Liberty Bond and Red Cross drives. Collected records of soldiers, sailors, and marines, natives and citizens of Hingham.

Historical and Natural History Society of Dover and Vicinity. Dover. 1895, inc. 1900. 175 members. Frank Smith, 125 Court Street, Dedham; Mrs. Sarah Higgins. Publications: Genealogical Sketches, by Frank Smith.

Historical Society of Old Newbury. Newburyport. 400 members. Harriet E. Jones, 34 Boardman St.

Historical Society of Watertown. 1888. Walter C. Stone.

Holliston Historical Society. Holliston. 1910. 200 members. Willis A. Kingsbury; Frank Haviland.

Hyde Park Historical Society. Hyde Park. 1887. Now 55 members. Quite a loss by death during the past year. Horace Summer; Mrs. Herbert Greenwood, 1065 River St.

Ipswich Historical Society. Ipswich. 1890. Thomas Franklin Waters.

Leominster Historical Society. Leominster. 1906. 250 members. Charles K. Davis; Wm. H. Durant, 45 Mt. Pleasant Ave.

Lexington Historical Society. Lexington. 1886. 300 members. Herbert G. Locke; Miss Mabel P. Cook.

Littleton Historical Society. Littleton. 1894. The society has 15 members and possesses two cases of relics. Miss S. F. White.

Lowell Historical Society. Lowell. Francis Appleton, care Locks and Canals Co. The society has about 200 members and \$1,500.

Lynn Historical Society. Lynn. 765 members. William E. Dorman. Books, 2,500.

Malden Historical Society. Malden. 1886. 160 members. Hon. Charles E. Mann; Geo. W. Chamberlain, 29 Hillside Avenue. Publications: Register No. 5. The library has been arranged so that it is accessible to members and special students of local history.

Marblehead Historical Society. 1898, inc. 1902. 450 members. Hon Wm. D. T. Trefry; Miss Hannah Tutt, 15 Washington Street.

Massachusetts Historical Society. 1154 Boylston Street, Boston. 1791. 100 resident members, 50 corresponding, 10 honorary. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge; Edward Stanwood, recording secretary; Wm. R. Thayer, corresponding secretary. Publications: *Proceedings*, vol. 50 (October, 1916-June, 1917); *Collections*, vol. 72 (*Warren-Adams Letters*, vol. 1, 1743-1777).

Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants. 53 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1896. Governor Rev. Frederick B. Allen; George Ernest Bowman. Publications: *The Mayflower Descendant* (a quarterly), vol. 19; *Pilgrim Notes and Queries* (8 times a year), vol. 5.

Medfield Historical Society. Medfield. 1891. 34 members, some not active and ministers excused from paying dues, but few charter members left. Rev. Albert E. Hylan; Harriet A. Fowle. A small country society can not afford yearly publications. Since the *Town History* by a member, and a catechism for schools made from it by another member, and a few souvenir booklets for the town's two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, nothing has been published. After storing most of our belongings for several years, though we have held quarterly meetings, we are to have the use of one room in the new Historical Library, and have moved in part of our things. We are to share the room for meetings with the Civic Association. The town selectmen never have become much interested in historical societies, and required the room we used to occupy in the town hall building. We received this year, an etching by J. A. S. Monks, the sheep painter, once resident in Medfield, also other pictures and books, and a little money. We have always cooperated with the public schools, as much as possible. Lately we have had a few gifts from the Public Library trustees, and from a former member, now non-resident. This year our members spent most of their strength and money on war work, so we have little regular work to report. We have added homestead papers to our books of homesteads, this year, and have about 25 prominent homesteads already, with more promised. The town dates back to 1651.

Medford Historical Society. Medford. 1896. 150 members. Moses W. Mann; Geo. S. V. Fuller, corresponding secretary, 7 Alfred St. Publication: *Historical Register*, vol. 20. Have erected a new building at a cost of about \$5,000.

Medway Historical Society. Medway. 1901. 75 members. Herbert N. Hixon; Ambrose R. Saunders, U. S. N.; David B. Hixon, acting secretary, West Medway. A number of valuable genealogical books added, given by children of former members. April, 1917, patriotic meeting to which town officers, patriotic societies and townspeople were invited; June 17, memorial exercises to revolutionary soldiers of Medway, boy scouts and S. of V. invited to assist in decorating graves. We make a special effort to interest the young people of our village. We always have music at the meeting, which is followed by refreshments with social, at which old and young join in a "Virginia reel." We have done this for 6 or 8 years and the historical society holds a unique place in our community life, the old, young and middle-aged come together with no constraint and join in the social, and the young feel a loyalty for their town and for their historical society.

Mendon Historical Society. Mendon. 1897. 200 members. Mrs. L. W. Holbrook.

Methuen Historical Society. Methuen. 1895. 110 members. Joseph S. Howe; Elizabeth B. Currier.

- Military Historical Society of Massachusetts.* Cadet Armory, Columbus Avenue, Boston. 1876, inc. 1891. About 200 members. Colonel Thomas L. Livermore; William Ropes Trask. About to publish our volume 14, consisting of papers read before the society.
- Milton Historical Society.* Milton. 1904. 357 members. Nathaniel T. Kidder; Eleanor P. Martin, recording secretary; Alice C. Breck, corresponding secretary. Publications: Twelfth Annual Report. Bibliography of Milton, in preparation; also an Index to History of Milton, Teele, 1887.
- Nantucket Historical Association.* Nantucket. 1894. Mrs. Elizabeth C. Bennett.
- New England Catholic Historical Society.* Boston. 1901. W. A. Leahy, 64 Pemberton Square.
- New England Historic Genealogical Society.* 9 Ashburton Place, Boston. 1844. 1,345 members. James Phinney Baxter, Portland Me., recording secretary; Alfred Johnson, Brookline, Mass., corresponding secretary; G. Andrews Moriarty, jr., Newport, R. I. Publications: New England Historical and Genealogical Register (quarterly with supplement, about 500 pages); East Bridgewater, Charlemont, and Windsor Vital Records.
- New England Methodist Historical Society.* 1881. Rev. George F. Durgin, 36 Bromfield Street, Boston.
- Newton Historical Society.* 1902. Frank A. Mason, 31 Milk Street, room 210, Boston.
- Oakham Historical Society.* Oakham. 1899. 62 members. Prof. Henry P. Wright; Dr. Henry B. Wright, Oakham, Mass. The president and secretary are writing the history of the town of Oakham, 2 vols. with genealogies. The society has a room in the library building and a collection of antique articles of historic worth.
- Old Planters' Society.* Salem. 1899, inc. 1908. Dr. Frank A. Gardner; Miss Lucie M. Gardner, 4 Lynde Street. Several public meetings at which addresses have been given on various phases of New England life and activity and early history of Massachusetts towns.
- Old South Association in Boston.* Washington St., Boston. 1877. 100 members. Charles W. Elliot; Courtenay Crocker, 845 Tremont Bldg. Publications: Leaflets, "William Knox on American Taxation, 1769"; "John Quincy Adams and others on the Peace of Ghent, 1814"; "The Treaty of Ghent and Negotiations that followed, 1814-1818"; "The Triumph of the Union, by Charles De Montalembert in 1865."
- Orange Historical and Antiquarian Society.* Orange. Mrs. C. M. Mayo, 24 Winter St. The society has 20 members and a room in the Wheeler Memorial Library.
- Peabody Historical Society.* Peabody. 1896. Mrs. Elizabeth C. Osborn, Warren National Bank Building, Peabody Square.
- Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association.* Deerfield. 1870. M. Elizabeth Stebbins.
- Prince Society.* Boston. 1858. Albert Matthews, 12 Bosworth Street.
- Quinabaug Historical Society.* Southbridge. 1899. 125 members. John M. Cochran; Mary E. Clemence, 5 South Street. Publications: We have two volumes of 25 papers each printed and bound and eight leaflets printed but not bound.
- Quincy Historical Society.* Quincy. 1893. Elizabeth H. Alden.
- Roxbury Historical Society.* Roxbury. Organized as Roxbury Military Historical Society, 1891; reorganized 1901. 3 honorary, 10 life, 299 regular members. Sherwin L. Cook; Walter R. Meins, Municipal Court Building.

Publications: Yearbook for 1917. During 1917, Roxbury High Fort, a Revolutionary landmark, having been restored to its original appearance, including replicas of Revolutionary cannon, was dedicated as a public park. A patriotic parade followed. All was under direction of this society. The society also observed its 25th anniversary by a banquet, and entertained the Bay State Historical League in October.

Rumford Historical Association. North Woburn. 1877. 200 members. William R. Cutter; Andrew R. Linsett, 2 Poole Street.

Sharon Historical Society. Sharon. 1903. 75 members. Edmund H. Hewins; John G. Phillips.

Shepard Historical Society. Cambridge. 1889. 25-40, average membership. Rev. Raymond Calkins; Miss Marion F. Lansing, corner Garden and Mason Streets.

Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. Boston. 1910. 1,593 members. Charles Knowles Bolton; William S. Appleton. Publications: Bulletin. We moved into our own building, the old Harrison Gray Otis house, 2 Lynde Street, Boston, which is now our headquarters. Work of restoration is temporarily halted by the war. All our collections are growing better and faster than normally.

South Natick Historical Society and Natural History and Library Society. South Natick. 1873. About 100 members. Mrs. Mary Esty; Mrs. Martha Bean. Museum room open to visitors free on Wednesday and Saturday p. m. 2.30 till 5.30 in Bacon Free Library building, except on holidays.

Swampscott Historical Society. Swampscott. 1905. Rev. G. A. Jackson.

Topsfield Historical Society. Topsfield. 1894. 253 members. Charles J. Peabody; George Francis Dow. Publications: Historical Collections, vol. 22.

Unitarian Historical Society. 25 Beacon St., Boston. 1902. George Hale Reed.

Wakefield Historical Society. Wakefield. 1905. Fred M. Young.

Westboro Historical Society. Westboro. 1889. 130 members. Charles M. Packard; Miss Geneva A. Perry. Early in the year we rented a hall for a term of years. In the spring we added about 50 members. Nov. 16, 1917, the society celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town. We hold monthly meetings; 1917-18 program consisted of annual meeting, two entertainments, two socials, one musical, two lectures, and field day.

Winthrop Improvement and Historical Association. Winthrop. 1903. 215 members. Elmer E. Dawson; Mrs. Lucy Hall Greenlaw, 47 Sunnyside avenue. Association owns its house, which was built about 1640, and is the home of Deane Winthrop, son of Gov. John Winthrop, first governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony. It owns a museum and historical collection pertaining to local history and families. As its name implies, the society is also active in civic interests. As the house is often crowded to capacity, the association looks forward to a new auditorium in the future.

Worcester Society of Antiquity. Worcester. 1875. Walter Davidson, 39 Salisbury St.

MICHIGAN.

Antrim County Pioneer Association. Central Lake, Antrim County. There was a flourishing Pioneer Association here in this county for a number of years, but many of the old settlers having passed away, it was allowed to lapse, and last winter a few gathered in the courthouse at Bellaire and reorganized; the meetings to be held at the courthouse, and the use of a vault in the judge of probate's office to keep records and mementoes was tendered. The

officers elected were Dempster H. Stebbins, president; Mary Morrow, secretary. There is so much to do on account of the war, with the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., and other matters that no meeting has been called since, but we are only waiting, not dead.

Barry County Pioneer and Historical Society. Hastings. 1873. Approximately 200 members. Hon. W. W. Potter; Hon. Charles A. Weissert, Hastings, Mich. No publications are official. Historical papers prepared for the annual meetings are always published in local newspapers. This society has undertaken the task of placing monuments on historical places in Barry County. The site of the American Fur Co.'s post, established in 1828 at Bull's prairie near Hastings, has been commemorated with a handsome field-stone monument bearing a bronze tablet. Other places will be marked.

Charlevoix Historical Society. Charlevoix. 1879. About 100 members. Brayton Saltonstall; Miss Mary E. Clarke, 408 Mason Street. Publications: Usual program and Yearbook. Celebrated July 31, 1917, the 196th anniversary of passing of Father Charlevoix along our shores.

Clinton County Pioneer Society. St. Johns. 1874. About 1,600 names enrolled on record book, many dead. Theo. H. Townsend; Mrs. C. D. Pearce, Dewitt. Publications: Reports of annual meeting in June and Pioneer picnic in August. Sixteen historians were appointed a few years ago to collect historical facts from each township in Clinton Co. Histories not complete yet.

Delta County Pioneer and Historical Society. Escanaba. 1916. 73 members. F. X. Barth; Miss Lura E. Brubaker, Carnegie Public Library, Escanaba.

Historical Society of Branch County. Coldwater. 1902. 10 members. Hon. Henry E. Straight; Rev. H. P. Collin, 98 East Chicago Street. The society has made a collection, as nearly complete as possible, of all newspapers ever published in the county, from 1841.

Historical Society of Grand Rapids. Grand Rapids. 1895. 42 members. Roger W. Butterfield; Samuel H. Ranck, Grand Rapids Library.

Huron County Pioneer and Historical Society. Bad Axe. 1914. 104 members. W. F. Bope; Florence M. Gwinn, Pigeon; address for mail, W. F. Bope, Bad Axe. Publications: Sketches given by pioneers were published by the county papers in full. 12 new members. Held a picnic at Bad Axe, June, 1917, pioneers giving sketches of the earlier days in the county. The secretary is gathering material for a history of the county in the near future. Expect to have a midwinter meeting at which articles in use in pioneer days will be exhibited.

Keweenaw Historical Society. Copper Country of Michigan; headquarters, Houghton. 1912. 150 members. J. T. Reeder; J. A. Doelle. Bibliography of region prepared and edited by J. A. Doelle.

Michigan Historical Commission. Lansing. 1913. Six members, appointed by governor, with governor ex officio. Claude H. Van Tyne; George N. Fuller, Lansing. Publications: Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan; Harris, Public Life of Zachariah Chandler. Appropriation increased from \$6,000 to \$15,000; archives in State capitol partially listed; several minor publications issued; Michigan History Magazine begun, quarterly, no. 1, July, 1917, no. 2, Oct. closed vol. 1.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Lansing. 1874. 800 members. Hon. Augustus C. Carton; George N. Fuller, Lansing. Publishing activities taken over by the Michigan Historical Commission in 1913. Membership and museum collections materially increased; greatly increased interest in meetings (May, August and January), in different parts of the State; several new county societies organized on uniform plan as auxiliaries in the collecting of local materials.

St. Joseph County Historical and Pioneer Society. Centreville. 1873. Not a close association; everyone is a member who has resided in the county 20 years. Henry Worthington; Frank S. Cummings. Publications: Newspaper reports of annual meeting on the second Wednesday in June. Very considerable additions were made to the county museum in 1916-17.

MINNESOTA.

Canby Old Settlers Association. Canby.

Danish Pioneers. Minneapolis.

Lake Pepin Valley Old Settlers Association. Lake City.

Minnesota Historical Society. St. Paul. 1849. Charles P. Noyes; Solon J. Buck, St. Paul. Publications: Minnesota History Bulletin, vol. 2, nos. 1-4; Nineteenth Biennial Report. New \$500,000 building erected by the State for the society and the State archives completed and dedicated, 1918.

Minnesota Territorial Pioneers. Old Capitol Building, St. Paul. 1897. 3,000 members. George H. Hazard.

Old Settlers Historical Society, of Pipestone. Pipestone City. 1880. 100 members. Charles H. Burnett.

Winona County Old Settlers Association. Winona.

MISSISSIPPI.

Mississippi Department of Archives and History. Jackson. 1902, by act of legislature. Board of trustees, nine members; executive officer, Dunbar Rowland, director. In charge of archives, art gallery, and museum, historical manuscripts, historical library, diffusion of knowledge of Mississippi history. Over 1,000,000 historical documents collected, scientifically classified, and guide published. Collections from French archives, 34 volumes; from English, 20 volumes; from Spanish, 9 volumes. Collection of Mississippi newspapers, files, 1805-1919. Publications: Twenty-one volumes of historical sources, registers, reports. Recent publication, Letter Books of Gov. W. C. C. Claiborne, 6 volumes.

Mississippi Historical Society. Jackson. 1890, reorganized 1898. Dunbar Rowland. Publications: 15 vols. to 1914; new series, "Centenary series" in honor of one hundredth anniversary of the State's admission to the Union.

MISSOURI.

Missouri Baptist Historical Society. Liberty. 1886. 36 members. Prof. R. P. Rider; Dr. E. C. Griffith, 315 N. Lightburne St. Publications: Vol. 3, Missouri Baptist Biography.

Missouri Historical Society. St. Louis. 1866. 608 members. Hon. David R. Francis; Mr. Charles Parsons Pettus, Jefferson Memorial. Publications: Thomas James, Three years among the Indians and Mexicans (Waterloo, 1846), edited with notes and biographical sketches by Judge Walter B. Douglas; Walter B. Stevens, A Reporter's Lincoln. Unusual collection of firearms, two large collections of books, historical and genealogical, manuscripts relating to fur trade and the West.

Pike County Historical Society. Louisiana. 1904. 100 members. F. D. Stechter; Clayton Keith, M. D., 2105 Georgia St. Publications: Sketch of the Jackson family; Military History of Pike County. Dedicated a stone and bronze marker at the site of old Buffalo Fort near Louisiana, Mo.

The State Historical Society of Missouri. Columbia. 1898. 550 pay members; 500 editorial; 200 exchange. Dr. Walter B. Stevens; Floyd C. Shoemaker. Publications: *The Missouri Historical Review*. Additions: Over 600 volumes of old Missouri newspapers, 1850-1898.

MONTANA.

State Historical and Miscellaneous Library. Helena. Organized as State Historical Society, 1865. No members. C. B. Power; F. F. Steele; W. Y. Pemberton, librarian. Publications: *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, vol. 8.

NEBRASKA.

Nebraska State Historical Society. Lincoln. 1878. 1,300 members. Samuel C. Bassett; Addison E. Sheldon, Station A, Lincoln. Publications: Vol. 18; *The Veto Power in Nebraska*, pamphlet. Close cooperation arranged and ratified by governing bodies of the historical society, legislative reference bureau, university history departments, university library, and Nebraska Society Sons of the American Revolution, and Nebraska Society Daughters of the American Revolution. The special situation in Nebraska created during the past year warrants an additional note of information: In January last the director of the legislative reference bureau was elected superintendent and secretary of the State Historical Society. One of the main purposes in this action by the historical society was to unite and coordinate the work of research in Nebraska history and ethnology under one head. At the same time was unanimously ratified the report of a committee whose members were appointed by the historical society, the State university, and the State librarian. This report contemplates the erection of a historical and university library building on the university campus which shall house all the State-supported libraries at the capitol except the law library at the State house. In pursuance of this policy of unification the present director of the reference bureau and superintendent of the historical society was unanimously elected secretary and registrar of the Nebraska Society Sons of the American Revolution, and the library and archives of that society removed from Omaha to the historical society's rooms. There also are the principal collections of the Nebraska Society Daughters of the American Revolution.

NEVADA.

The Nevada Historical Society. Reno. 1904. About 200 members. Judge G. F. Talbot; Miss Jeanne E. Wier, 844 North Center St. Publications: *Nevada Historical Society Papers*, vol. 1; *Pageant of Nevada History*. *History of Taxation in Nevada*, now in press.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The New Hampshire Genealogical Society. Dover. 1903. Hon. A. G. Whittemore; Fred E. Quimby, City Hall, Dover.

New Hampshire Historical Society. Concord. 1823. 700 members. Frank N. Parsons; Otis G. Hammond. Publications: *Proceedings*, vol. 5.

Manchester Historic Association. Manchester. 1896. 230 members. William P. Farmer; Fred C. Lamb, 452 Merrimack St. Publications: 1917 meeting; in previous years, 12 vols. of *Collections*. *Collections of relics*, which are lo-

cated in two fine, large, well-lighted rooms in the Carpenter Memorial Public Library, are growing fast. Open to public on Saturday afternoons, 2 to 5 p. m. Fred W. Lamb, curator. Include Gen. John Stark relics, Indian relics, military uniforms and equipment of the earlier years in our locality; old prints and portraits of the early settlers, guns, instruments, and old utensils of the olden times, etc.

NEW JERSEY.

Bergen County Historical Society. Hackensack. 1902. 130 members. Cornelius V. R. Bogert; Theodore Romaine, Main St., Hackensack. Publications: Annual papers and proceedings, 1917; Gen. Greene's orderly book (pertaining to Bergen Co.); Justices and Freeholders records, 1715-1782. We have the use of a large new room in the Johnson Public Library, making it possible for the installation of new cases in which our collections, classified, are arranged and exhibited. The growing collection of colonial household articles and hardware, and valuable deeds, wills, etc., shows an encouraging interest in the society and its efforts. Among our many gifts are a number of the articles used in the wool industry. An exhibition of same, with an illustrated talk as to the methods of preparing the wool for knitting 100 years ago, was given during the Christmas holidays. Our society has under consideration the erection of a large wooden tablet on the lawn of the courthouse to bear the names of all the Bergen County boys enlisted in the war, the complete list to be kept on record in our rooms. The women's auxiliary are planning for a Home Land textile exhibit.

Gloucester County Historical Society. Woodbury. 1903. John G. Whittall; Wm. M. Carter. Publications: One pamphlet, embracing three papers, one by Isabella C. McGeorge. The Heroine of Red Bank; one by Dr. Wallace McGeorge, The Battle of Gloucester; and one by Dr. Wallace McGeorge, Lost Towns and Hamlets in Gloucester County.

Hunterdon County Historical Society. Flemington. 1885. 51 members. Hugh C. Nevius; H. E. Deats. Marriage records of the county are being published by the librarian individually, and the members are working together in copying tombstone inscriptions which will be published.

Monmouth County Historical Association. Red Bank. 275 members. John S. Applegate; Edward S. Atwood, 1 Broad Street.

New Brunswick Historical Club. New Brunswick. 1870. About 75 members paying dues. Austin Scott; John H. Logan. Meetings have been held regularly (save for a short interval in the late seventies) and papers read monthly during 8 months of the year. Three pamphlets have been published. Further publication of local historical documents is proposed.

New Jersey Historical Society. 16 West Park Street, Newark. 1845. 900 members. Hon. Francis J. Swayze; A. V. D. Honeyman. Publications: New Jersey Archives, 1st ser., vol. 29; 2d ser., vol. 5; Proceedings, fourth (new) ser., vol. 2.

Princeton Historical Association. Princeton. 1900. E. C. Richardson, University Library.

Salem County Historical Society. Salem. 1884. 70 members. Edward S. Sharpe, M. D.; George W. Price. Additions to the Duval collections of ceramics. Books and pamphlets added to the library.

Somerset Historical Society. Somerville. About 100 members. Hon. James J. Bergen; John T. Reger. Publications: Somerset County Historical Quarterly.

Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society. Vineland. 1864. 42 members. Dr. Joseph A. Conwell; Frank D. Andrews. Publications: Annual report. Addition to the museum of a collection of Indian relics from Cape May Co.,

Indian pottery, modern Indian jewelry, basket work, etc., collected by the late Frank Leaming of Cape May Court House and presented to the society by Mr. Leaming.

Women's Burlington County Historical Society. Burlington. 1915. 318 members. Miss Rebekah B. Wells; Mrs. George D. McIlvaine, Beverly. Special committees on current history, early schools, old mills, samplers. King's Highway, noted men, membership, entertainment, Y. M. C. A. pageant, etc. Genealogical room. Indian, Civil War, Revolutionary, and Colonial relics added, also books. New Jersey Society (women's branch) held mid-winter meeting in Burlington.

NEW MEXICO.

New Mexico Historical Society. Santa Fe. 1859. 100 members. L. Bradford Prince, LL. D.; M. M. Berger, Belen. Established department of patriotic pictures, photographs of all engaged in war of 1917.

NEW YORK.

Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society. 400 members. J. Townsend Lansing; William Gorham Rice. We have a course of lectures during the winter and various exhibits during the year. Our permanent collections consist of works of art, paintings, sculpture, china, and historical relics.

Brooklyn Catholic Historical Society. Brooklyn.

Buffalo Historical Society. 1862. Approximately 700 members. Hon. Henry W. Hill; Frank H. Severance, Historical Building, Buffalo. Publications: *Severance, An Old Frontier of France*, 2 vols., constituting vols. 20 and 21, Buffalo Historical Society, Publications series, published for the general trade by Dodd, Mead & Co., N. Y.; Report of annual meeting. Accession to MSS. collections: The Porteous Papers, gift of Mr. Henry R. Howland; important for study of trade and traffic conditions, New York and Canada, latter half of 18th century. This institution shared in forming a Federation of Historical Societies of the old Genesee Country (New York west of Seneca Lake), June 1917. In preparation for publication in 1918: The Journals and Letters of Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Senecas and Oneidas, Government agent and founder of Hamilton College.

Canistota Valley Historical Society. Hornell.

City History Club of New York. New York. 1896, inc. 1897. About 200 supporting members (student members fluctuating). Mrs. A. Barton Hepburn; Mrs. Carr Van Anda, 105 West Fortieth Street. Publications: *The Beaver*, 3 issues. Held an exhibition of historical scrapbooks and albums of old New York. Children engaged in Red Cross work of all sorts. Marked two historical milestones in New York with ceremonies.

Dutchess County Historical Society. Pleasant Valley.

Falls House Memorial Collection. Newburgh. William Stanbrough.

Flushing Historical Society. Flushing. Leon C. Case.

Genesee Country Historical Federation. 1917. Sanford D. Van Alstine, Palmyra. 15 societies are members.

Geneva Historical Society. Geneva. Katherine S. B. Duryea.

Herkimer County Historical Society. Herkimer. 1896. 200 members. Arthur T. Smith. Occupies room in Public Library.

Historical and Genealogical Society of the town of Cortland. Peekskill.

Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands. Newburgh. 1883. W. C. Belknap, 112 1st St.

Historical Society of Saratoga, including the upper Hudson, Lake George, and Lake Champlain. Saratoga Springs. 1883. 125 members. James Madison Andrews; Irving I. Goldsmith. Society maintains a museum in the Saratoga Casino; includes a large and rare collection of Indian arrowheads. Preserves a record of important current local events, and is preparing a history of Saratoga Springs from the time of the arrival of the first settlers.

Holland Purchase Historical Society. Batavia. Before 1893. 250 members. Mrs. Frances Thomas; L. W. Griswold; address for mail, Frank S. Wood. Headquarters at office of Holland Land Co., erected 1804; dedicated to memory of Robert Morris at celebration 1893. Museum, especially papers. Also own log cabin on fair ground, with annual exhibition. Member Genesee Country Federation.

Holland Society of New York. New York City. 1885. 1,000 members. Seymour Van Santvoord; Frederick R. Keator, 90 West St. Publications: Year book.

Huntington Historical Society. Huntington. D. Elizabeth Irwin.

Johnstown Historical Society. Johnstown. 1892. 73 members. Harwood Dudley; Alonzo M. Young.

Kings County Historical Society. Brooklyn. C. H. Scrwin, Room 42, 250 Fulton St.

Livingston County Historical Society. Genesee. 1875. 280 members. William H. Brodie.

The Long Island Historical Society. Brooklyn. 1863. 447 members. Hon. Willard Bartlett; Cyril H. Burdett. Two exhibitions, one of manuscripts and first editions pertaining to Martin Luther, and one of bookplates.

Madison County Historical Society. Oneida. 1898. D. B. Deating.

Montgomery County Historical Society. Amsterdam. 1904. 200 members. Charles E. French, 58 Market St. Publishes Proceedings twice a year.

Morris Memorial Historical Society. Chatham.

Nassau County Historical and Genealogical Society. Mineola. 1915. About 100 members. James S. Cooley, M. D.; Robert M. Darbee, Rockville Center. Publications: A leaflet giving annual report. Have accepted the invitation of the trustees to make the old mill at Roslyn, headquarters temporarily. The old grist mill has been fixed up for a historical museum. We have also prepared a set of genealogical blanks for use in recording family history in a permanent way.

New York Genealogical and Biographical Society. New York City. 1869. 600 members. Clarence Winthrop Bowen; Henry Russell Drowne, 226 West Fifty-eighth Street. Publications: New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, vol. 48, a continuous publication, quarterly since Jan., 1870. The society owns its home and also owns Nos. 222, 224, 226 East Fifty-eighth Street, where it contemplates erecting its new home in the future.

The New York Historical Society. 1804. John Abeel Weeks; Fancher Nicoll, 170 Central Park, West, New York City. Publications: Orderly book of DeLancey Brigade, 1776-1778; Bulletins, Nos. 1, 2, 3, issued quarterly; Cadwallader Colden Papers, 1714-1775, in press. An exhaustive scientific catalogue of the society's Egyptian collection is being prepared by Mrs. Grant Williams and the treatment and repair of the objects have been undertaken. New exhibition cases have also been installed. A series of exhibitions has been arranged for 1917-18 showing the society's collection of views, prints, caricatures, and original watercolor drawings of Audubon's Birds of America.

- New York State Historical Association.* 1889. 900 members. Hon. De Alva S. Alexander; Frederick B. Richards, Glen Falls. Publications: Year Book, No. 15. Annual meeting, New York City, October 2, 3, 4.
- Oneida Historical Society.* Utica. 1876. 200 members. William M. Starrs, Munson Williams Memorial Bldg.
- Onondaga Historical Association.* Syracuse. 1867. 225 members. George G. Fryer; Franklin H. Chase, 311 Montgomery Street. Publications: Spafford History, 2 vols., by George K. Collins.
- Oswego Historical Society.* Oswego. 1896. J. T. Mott.
- The Palmyra Historical Society.* Palmyra. 1915. About 150 members. Elizabeth W. Eaton; Sanford D. Van Alstine, 148 Main Street. Publications: A series of articles, "Palmyra of the Past," published weekly in both local newspapers, the entire year. This society affiliated with the Genesee Country Historical Federation, which was perfected at Canandaigua, N. Y., in June, 1917. The secretary became secretary of the Federation. Fifteen other societies affiliated during 1917.
- The Pennsylvania Society.* New York City. Founded 1899, inc. 1903. 1,600 members. James M. Beck; Barr Ferree, 249 West Thirteenth Street. Publications: Year Book for 1917; the United States and the War, both edited by Barr Ferree. Annual dinner, Dec. 8, 1917, A tribute to France. Gold Medal of the society awarded to the French Ambassador, Dr. J. J. Jusserand.
- Putnam County Historical Society.* Cold Spring. Miss Mary Haldane.
- Sag Harbor Historical Society.* Sag Harbor. C. W. Payne.
- Schenectady County Historical Society.* Schenectady. 1905. 400 members. Allen W. Johnston; George W. Featherstonhaugh, jr., 13 Union Street. Publications: Small folder for use by general public, giving historical data of Schenectady, city and county.
- Seneca Falls Historical Society.* Seneca Falls. Emma Maier.
- Society for the Preservation of Historical and Scenic Places.* Geneva.
- Society of Pennsylvania Women in New York.* 1913. 252 members. Mrs. Joshua A. Hatfield; Mrs. William Harrison Brown, 249 West 13th Street. Publications: Manual; Handbook of Members. The society is supporting this year eight beds in the American Military Hospital No. 1 at Neuilly, France (formerly the American Ambulance Hospital), at the cost of \$4,800, and is also supplying many necessities and comforts for the wounded.
- Suffolk County Historical Society.* Riverhead. 1886. 263 members. Ruth H. Tuthill.
- Ticonderoga Historical Society.* Ticonderoga. J. T. Weed.
- Waterloo Library and Historical Society.* Waterloo. 1879. 100 members. Rev. Henry E. Hibberd.
- Wyoming County Historical Society.* Wyoming.

NORTH CAROLINA.

- Historical Commission of North Carolina.* Raleigh. R. D. W. Connor.
- Historical Society of North Carolina.* Chapel Hill. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton; C. E. McIntosh.
- State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina.* Raleigh. 1900. 538 members. Henry A. London; R. D. W. Connor. Publications: Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Session, published by the North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin no. 22.
- Trinity College, North Carolina, Historical Society.* Durham. 25 members. W. K. Boyd; C. R. Davis.

NORTH DAKOTA.

State Historical Society of North Dakota. Bismarck. 1895. 95 members. Judge Charles F. Amidon; O. G. Libby, University of North Dakota. Publications: Bulletin no. 1, Museum and Library of the State Historical Society. Collections, vol. 5, in process of publication. Society is custodian of a group of State parks, located at historic spots and designed as community centers. Preservation of living flora and fauna in these parks, indigenous to State.

OHIO.

Clark County Historical Society. Springfield. 1897. 150 members. Miss E. J. Smart.

Firelands Historical Society. Norwalk. 140 members. C. H. Gallup; A. Sheldon.

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. Cincinnati. 1831. 88 members. Burnet Woods; Charles T. Greve, Van Warner Library, Cincinnati. Publications: Quaterly, vol. 12. The society receives no State aid, securing its funds by voluntary contributions, \$79,000, increase of \$4,000. 27,222 in book collections; also manuscripts.

The Historical Commission of Ohio. 15th Ave. and High St., Columbus. Arthur M. Schlesinger, chairman, Ohio State University. "The Historical Commission of Ohio is the official agency of the State for the collection and preservation of the records of services of Ohioans in connection with the great war. The Historical Commission is endeavoring to make a complete collection of documents and materials which will disclose the work of the civilian war agencies in Ohio as well as the exploits of Ohio men and women in the service abroad. It desires to obtain manuscripts, printed matter of all kinds, scrapbooks, photographs, moving pictures, posters, cartoons, and relics. In other words, it is attempting to preserve everything that may help to show what the men, women, and children of the State have been doing and thinking with reference to the war or as a result of the war." 1. Records of State agencies and of Federal agencies within the State. 2. Military records. 3. Religious records. 4. Economic material. 5. Political and propagandist material. 6. Educational records. 7. County and municipal records. 8. War literature by or about Ohioans.

Muskingum County Pioneer and Historical Society. Zanesville. 1890. A. R. Josselyn; Miss Annie Stokes.

Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. High St. and Fifteenth Ave., Columbus. 1875. G. Frederic Wright; E. O. Randall, secretary and editor; William C. Mills, curator and librarian. The society is doing greater work than ever before in its history and is taking a very active interest in the collection of material concerning the war. The society publishes the Diary of R. B. Hayes, and the quarterly magazine is now in its 28th volume.

Old Northwest Genealogical Society. Franklin County Memorial Building, 280 East Broad Street, Columbus. 1897. H. Warren Phelps, librarian and secretary. The society has a library of more than 4,000 volumes of family genealogies and general history. A quarterly publication has been issued from the beginning. The society is now financially embarrassed.

The Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association. Fremont. 1874, inc. 1908. 100 members. Isadore H. Burgoon; Basil Meek, Fremont. Publications: Year book in preparation. Society publishes a pamphlet annually containing historic matters, called Yearbook. By act of State legislature, a sum not exceeding \$200 in any one year may be allowed to defray expenses of publication.

The Western Reserve Historical Society. Cleveland. 1867. William P. Palmer; W. H. Cathcart, 10700 Euclid Ave. Publications: Bulletins, and Tract No. 97.

OKLAHOMA.

Oklahoma Historical Society. Oklahoma City. 1895. Jasper Sipes; Frank D. Northrup; W. P. Campbell, custodian State capitol, Oklahoma City. Publications: *Historia* (quarterly). Moved into new quarters in State capitol Dec. 3, 1917. Collections of Alice Robertson, daughter of earliest missionary; Sam Houston's son, Emmet Star, Cherokee historian; Fred S. Barde, noted correspondent (last two purchased \$650, \$5,000); also Ruddy Indian collection. Approximately 3,000 accessories, also cases and furniture. Special war service.

OREGON.

Oregon Historical Society. Portland. 1898. 661 members. Frederick V. Holman; Prof. F. G. Young, Auditorium, Portland. Publications: Quarterly for the year—March, June, September, December. The removal of all collections from the old and illy-adapted quarters to the Public Auditorium, where the conditions for safety are excellent, besides more than 2,000 square feet of floor space in addition to what was occupied in the former quarters, making 8,000 square feet of floor space, besides a good deal of wall space for hanging portraits of early settlers.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Blair County Historical Society. Altoona. 231 members. Plymouth W. Snyder; Donald J. Howard. June 14, 1917, first annual meeting; monument unveiled; address; plans for marking historical spots. Many historical articles presented.

Bradford County Historical Society. Towanda. 1853. 100 members. Hon. A. C. Fanning; J. Andrew Wilt. Publications: Annual, containing proceedings, reports of officers and addresses, and papers read, current events, etc. Marked historic spots within the county, such as first permanent settler, Indian town, battles, etc.

Bucks County Historical Society. Doylestown. 1880. 761 members. Dr. Henry C. Mercer; Clarence D. Hotchkiss; Warren D. Ely, librarian. Publications: Vol. 4, papers read before the society 1909–1917; no. 1 of vol. 5, papers read at meeting of May 22, 1917. About 100 volumes added to library.

Carbon County Historical Society. Weatherly. 150 members. Rev. W. M. Rehrig; Fred Benchman. Publications: *The Gateway to the Minisunks*, by Albert G. Rau.

Chester County Historical Society. West Chester. 1893. About 400 members. Dr. George Morris Philips; J. Carroll Hayes. Publications: Bulletins, exercises in memory of Gen. Anthony Wayne; address on "The Star-Gazers' Stone," and exercises at Revolutionary Hospital, Chester Springs, Pa.

Church Historical Society. Philadelphia. 1910, inc. 1913. 205 members. Henry Budd; William Ives Rutter, jr., 525 South 41st St.

City Historical Society of Philadelphia. Philadelphia. 1900. 350 members. William J. Campbell, M. D., Ph. D.; Herman Burgin, M. D., 63 W. Cheltenham ave., Germantown. Publications: Index to vol. 1, vol. 2, no. 2, *The True Story of the Declaration of Independence*. Eight addresses before the Society during 1917. Three excursions to places of historical interest.

- Colonial Dames of America, Pennsylvania Society.* Mrs. James Starr, 1429 Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia. Historical research committee collecting material on church music and musical life. Books and lectures on subject.
- Colonial Society of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia. 1895. Henry L. Belknap, northeast corner Thirteenth and Chestnut Streets.
- Columbia County Historical Society.* Bloomsburg. 1914. 99 members. William W. Evans; Miss Sarah Van Tassel, 3 East Fifth Street, Bloomsburg.
- Delaware County Historical Society.* 1895. 113 members. Hon. William B. Broomall; Chester Palmer, Chester, Box 218. Publications: *Recollections of the Old Borough of Chester from 1834 to 1850*, by George E. Darlington. Three public lectures given by members of the society, viz. H. G. Ashmead, on The Old Court House, now City Hall of Chester, Jan. 24; Frederick H. Shelton, on Ancient Industries and the Old Inns of Delaware County, May 2, 1917; George E. Darlington, on *Recollections of the Old Borough of Chester*, May 31, 1917.
- Donegal Society of Lancaster County.* 277 members. Miss Martha Bladen Clark; Miss Rebecca J. Slaymaker, 230 East Orange Street, Lancaster. One annual meeting with addresses at Donegal Church. Donations of cabinet and book to the Church.
- Erie County Historical Society.* Erie. 193 members. Hon. Henry A. Clark; John Miller.
- Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia.* Philadelphia and vicinity. 1904. 350 members. Arthur N. Seeds; Miss Mary S. Allen, 24 West Street, Media. Publications: *Bulletin of Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vol. 7, no. 3; vol. 8, no. 1. Erection of bronze tablet in north archway of City Hall, Philadelphia, "Prayer of William Penn for Philadelphia."
- The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.* 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. 1892. 306 members. Col. J. Granville Leach; James Emlen. Publications: Vol. 6, no. 3.
- German-American Historical Society.* Philadelphia. 1901. Dr. A. Bernheim; Dr. E. M. Fogel, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania. No meetings held.
- Hamilton Library Association of Carlisle.* Carlisle. 1874. 103 members. C. F. Himes; Allen Line.
- Historical Society of Berks County.* 38 North Fourth Street, Reading. 1898. 357 members. C. R. Scholl, D. D. S.; Geo. M. Jones. No papers published, but resources used for new building. Collection of circulars, posters, and papers relating to the present war, especially those of Reading and Berks counties; established service roster of Berks County.
- Historical Society of Dauphin County.* Harrisburg. 1869. 180 members. Theo. B. Klein; Lilla E. Peay, 9 South Front St. Many articles of interest added to the museum, fine coin collection, a number of war pamphlets, books, posters, etc., added to library, general cooperation with civic enterprises. Meeting place of State federation.
- The Historical Society of Frankford.* 4510 Frankford Ave., Frankford, Philadelphia. Franklin Smedley; Miss Caroline W. Smedley. The membership has been somewhat increased and a number of books have been added to the library, and relics to the society's collection. Excursions to places of historic interest and weekly evenings "at home" have been features of interest to our members and friends.
- The Historical Society of Montgomery County.* Historical Hall, 18 Penn Street, Norristown. 1881. 400 members. Rev. Thomas R. Beeber, D. D.; George K. Brecht, 506 Swede St., Norristown. Publications: Vol. 4 of *Historical Sketches*, papers read before the society during 10 years. Over 200 books

and pamphlets added to our library; over 500 articles to our museum. We are planning to increase our membership that our income from that source may sustain the society and enable us to use all our building; now, unfortunately, a portion is rented, and therefore not safe from fire.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia. 1824. 2,000 members. Hon. Charlemagne Tower; John Bach McMaster, Ph. D., 1300 Locust Street. Publications: *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 41. To Nov. 1, 1917, accessions for the 10 months, 1,267 books, 5,223 selected pamphlets, 10,404 manuscripts, 2,374 miscellaneous articles.

Historical Society of Schuylkill County. Pottsville. 1903. 230 members. Capt. Baird Halberstadt; Miss Ida R. Smith. No papers or publications, owing to activity of members on war committees.

Historical Society of the United Evangelical Church. Harrisburg. 1907, inc. 1917. 75 members. Rev. U. F. Swengel; Rev. E. Crumblin, Lewisburg. Permanent home secured in U. E. Publishing House building; museum proposed; two meetings held. Publications: *The Centennial Celebration*.

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh. 1880, reorganized 1909. 750 members. William H. Stevenson; Burd S. Patterson, Bigelow Boulevard and Parkman Ave. Publications: *The book of words of the Pageant and Masque of Freedom* by George M. Baird; also pamphlet, city charter centennial exhibits at Carnegie Institute. Oct. 29–Nov. 6, 1916, celebration of Pittsburgh's city charter centennial. Nov. 30–Dec. 1, 1917, convention of the Ohio Valley Historical Association in society's building. A number of new books and relics added during year. Commenced publication of a quarterly magazine, Jan., 1918.

Historical Society of York County. York. 1892. 200 members. J. A. Dempwolf; Robert C. Bair. Publications: *York Past and Present*, illustrated. This society occupies rooms on the third floor of the new courthouse. In one of the large rooms is a museum with 10,000 specimens. These specimens are in cases, covered with glass. The library has 3,000 volumes on history.

Huguenot Society of Pennsylvania. Jan. 9, 1918. 120 members. Rev. John Baer Stoudt; Mrs. Robert S. Birch, Reading. Aims to perpetuate Huguenot history and genealogy.

Kittochintny Historical Society. Chambersburg. 1898. 69 members. W. Rush Gillan; Parker R. Skinner.

Krefeld Society. Germantown. 26 members. James H. Closson, M. D.; J. E. Barnett Buckenham, M. D., Chestnut Hill.

Lancaster County Historical Society. Lancaster. 1896. 400 members. Frank R. Diffenderffer; Charles B. Hollinger. Publications: 10.

Lebanon County Historical Society. Hathaway Park, Lebanon. 1898. 142 members. Capt. H. M. M. Richards; Dr. S. P. Heilman. Publications: Vol. 7, no. 1, Reports at nineteenth annual meeting, December 22, 1916, and a paper entitled: "Some unpublished documents pertaining to Lebanon County's part in the war of the Revolution;" vol. 7, no. 2, "Life and services of Gen. John Philip de Haas, 1735–1786"; vol. 7, no. 3, "Conservation of the Past." 595 pieces added to the library and museum.

Lehigh County Historical Society. Allentown. 1904. 160 members. George T. Ettinger, Ph. D.; Chas. R. Roberts, 520 North Sixth Street, Allentown. Occupies a colonial stone building. "Trout Hall," built in 1770 by James Allen, son of William Allen, the founder of the city, colonial chief justice of Pa.; restored by city authorities at a cost of \$8,000. Lease of \$1 per year. Building contains marble mantels over fireplaces, walnut wainscoting, etc. Museum and library in building.

- Moravian Historical Society.* Nazareth. 1857. 379 members. Rev. W. N. Schwarze; W. H. Vogler. Publications: Transactions. Rest house and observatory built to mark site of old Indian cemetery, center of plot of 5,000 acres bought by Count Zinsendorf for the settlement of Nazareth from Whitefield.
- Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society.* Easton. 110 members. David Bachman.
- The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia.* Dec. 28, 1857. 52 members. Charles J. Cohen; John W. Townsend, 1300 Locust St., Philadelphia.
- The Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies.* 1905. 45 societies. Charles R. Roberts; S. P. Heilman, Lebanon, Pa. Publications: Acts and Proceedings of 12th annual meeting. This association holds an annual meeting in the capital city of Harrisburg, Pa., on the 3d Thursday of January each year. It has no building, museum, collections, etc. Is related to the Pennsylvania Historical Commission in a cooperative capacity. Its activities are defined under the general term: "The advancement of historical research relating to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, local and general." It seeks to promote this advancement by means of 10 standing committees.
- The Pennsylvania German Society.* 1891. 450 members. Rev. Jacob Fry, D. D., LL. D.; Daniel W. Nead, M. D., P. O. Box 468, Reading. Publications: Vol. 25 of Proceedings and Addresses of the Society, containing the Diarium of Magister Johannes Kelpius, with annotations by Julius Friedrich Sachse; Conditions of Pennsylvania during the year 1755; A translation of a French pamphlet found in the Ducal Library at Gotha, Germany.
- Presbyterian Historical Society.* Philadelphia. 1852. 320 members. Henry Van Dyke; Rev. Joseph Brown Turner, 520 Witherspoon Building. Publications: Journal of the Presbyterian Society, quarterly.
- Site and Relic Society of Germantown.* 1900. 630 members. Charles F. Jenkins; Horace M. Lippincott, East Lane, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.
- Society of War of 1812, Pennsylvania Society.* 1853. 231 members. John Cadwalader; J. E. Burnett Buckenham, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia. Publication: Annual report.
- Snyder County Historical Society.* Selinsgrove. 1898. 60 members. Rev. Frank P. Manhart, D. D.; W. M. Schnure. Publications: Vol. 1, no. 8 ready to go to press. The society inaugurated the good road movement that culminated in the Susquehanna Trail, a highway between Corning, N. Y., and Harrisburg, Pa., traversing the Susquehanna Valley over old Indian trails and historic post-roads. Secured a tablet for the Gov. Simon Snyder (War Gov. of 1812) mansion at Selinsgrove, Pa., from the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. Military record of all Snyder County soldiers in the war of 1917 being compiled by the card index system.
- Susquehanna County Historical Society.* Montrose. 1890. 95 members. Francis R. Cope; Edgar T. Carfield. Annual meeting only.
- Washington County Historical Society.* Washington. 1901. 100 members. Samuel Amspoker; Miss Jane S. Hall. In connection with the county school superintendent, the society has endeavored to collect local history through the medium of township and borough schools and it is hoped to publish the result at no distant date.
- Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.* Wilkes-Barre. 1858. 188 annual, 212 life; total, 400 members. Maj. Irving R. Stearns; Christopher Wren. Publications: Vol. 15, Publications and Proceedings. The death of Rev. Horace E. Hayden in August, 1917, was a great loss, as Mr. Hayden had filled various offices in the society for 25 years.

Woman's Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh. 160 members. Mrs. Charles B. McFail; Mrs. Edward J. Davies, 543 Norman Ave., N. S. Sixteen meetings, addresses, musicals, Red Cross, and war work. Erection of bronze tablet.

RHODE ISLAND.

Barrington Historic Antiquarian Society. Barrington. 1885. All the townspeople are members. Secretary, Miss Harriet A. Rear; president, Thomas W. Bicknell, 207 Doyle St., Providence. Publications: Program of Historic Celebration. Celebration of 200th anniversary of town during the year.

Bristol County Historical Society. Providence. 1894. Thomas W. Bicknell, 207 Doyle Ave. This society takes note of historical celebrations and notable events in the county.

Newport Historical Society. Newport. 1854. 438 members. John P. Sanborn. *The Rhode Island Citizens' Historical Association.* Providence. 1883. 300 members. Mrs. C. A. P. Weeden; Thomas W. Bicknell, 207 Doyle St. Our activities are our only assets. 10 monthly meetings; 10 historical addresses; 17 half-day and all-day historic outings. Historic monument erected at Sowams. Unique celebration of Rhode Island Independence Day, May 4, 1917.

Rhode Island Historical Society. Providence. 1822. 375 members. Wilfred H. Munro; Howard M. Chapman, librarian; Howard W. Preston, 68 Waterman St. Publications: Views of Westminster St. in 1824. Obtained Jeremiah Olney papers, 600 Revolutionary MSS., for \$1,750. Marked Pomhams Fort, which was built in 1644. Compiled list of Rhode Island soldiers and sailors in the Colonial Wars.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Historical Commission of South Carolina. Columbia. 1894, 1905. A. S. Salley. *Huguenot Society of South Carolina.* Charleston. 1885. Rev. Robert Wilson, 75 Corning St.

South Carolina Historical Society. Charleston. 1854. 230 members. Mabel Louise Webber. Publication: South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine (quarterly), vol. 18.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

State Historical Society of South Dakota. Pierre. 1901. 100 members Doane Robinson.

TENNESSEE.

Tennessee Historical Society. Nashville. 1849. 227 members. St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University. Endowment fund, \$10,000, established in 1917.

TEXAS.

Texas Library and Historical Commission. Austin. Ernest W. Winkler, State Library.

Texas State Historical Association. University Station, Austin. 1897. 700 members. Chas. W. Ramsdell. Publications: Southwestern Historical Quarterly, vol. 20, 21.

UTAH.

Utah State Historical Society. Salt Lake City. 1897. 300 members. Spencer Clawson; J. R. Letcher. Income derived from State according to needs. Office in New Capitol building; exhibits at State University.

VERMONT.

Vermont Historical Society. Montpelier. 1859. 281 members. William W. Stickney; Edward D. Field.

VIRGINIA.

The Confederate Memorial Literary Society. Clay and 12th Streets, Richmond. 1890. Chartered May, 1890. Museum opened 1896. Approximately 700 members. Miss S. A. Anderson; Mrs. John Mason. Publications: Yearbook, 1916. Many relics added, especially the sword that Gen. Robert E. Lee wore when he surrendered to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox. Working strictly on our charter lines—that is, collecting Confederate relics in all forms.

Virginia Historical Society. Richmond. 1831. 766 members. W. G. Gordon McCabe; W. G. Stanard, 707 E. Franklin St. Publications: Vol. 25, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. So far we have not been seriously affected by the war, except in the great increase in expenses, especially printing. We have not lost more members than usual by resignations, but found it more difficult to get new ones. Unless there is some great and unexpected change in our condition, we expect to continue our work and publication.

WASHINGTON.

Washington State Historical Society. Tacoma. 1891. 171 members. Henry Hewitt, jr.; W. P. Bonney. Made attempt to persuade Congress to provide some means of preserving valuable historic papers and delivering them to the historical societies in locality where they are of interest.

WEST VIRGINIA.

West Virginia Department of Archives and History. Charleston. 1905. Wilson M. Foulk, State historian and archivist, Statehouse. Library of 74,000 books and pamphlets. Also charged with the duty of maintaining the State museum and historical collections. The newspapers are an important feature of the library. Appropriation 1917-1919, \$23,600.

WISCONSIN.

Green Bay Historical Society. Green Bay. 1899. 100 members. Arthur C. Neville; Miss Minnie H. Kelleher.

Manitowoc County Historical Society. Manitowoc. 1904. 27 members. Emil Baensch; R. G. Plumb.

Ripon Historical Society. Ripon. 1899. Samuel M. Pedrick.

Sauk County Historical Society. Baraboo. 1905. 70 members. H. K. Page.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Madison. 1849. 750 members. M. M. Quaife.

Walworth County Historical Society. Elkhorn. 1898. 30 members.

Waukesha County Historical Society. 1906. 163 active, 8 honorary members.

Mrs. H. B. Edwards; Miss Julia A. Lapham, Oconomowoc. Papers read in the meetings are usually published in the Waukesha Freeman. June 16 a boulder with bronze tablet was unveiled on Lapham Peak, formerly Government Hill. The name was changed by the United States Geographical Board in honor of Dr. I. A. Lapham, and the memorial placed by the Waukesha Historical Society. Many articles have been added to our collections during the past year, including posters, papers, and pictures relating to the war, especially locally.

Wisconsin Archeological Society. Milwaukee. 1903. 300 members. Dr. Samuel A. Barrett; Charles E. Brown, Madison. Publications: *The Antiquities of Green Lake, Lake Shawano, and the Wolf River; The Chetek and Rice Lakes.* Conducted researches in Door and Sheboygan counties.

WYOMING.

Wyoming Historical Society. Cheyenne. Created by legislature, Feb. 16, 1895. Six trustees appointed by governor, secretary of state, governor, State librarian, ex officio. Address, Custodian of Wyoming Historical Society, State Library, Cheyenne. Moved into new quarters in the new wing of capitol building, but the historical collections have not yet been permanently arranged.

CANADA.

Bellerive and Bay of Quinte Historical Society. Belleville, Ontario. S. Russell. *Brome County Historical Society.* Knowlton, P. Q. 1897. 30 members. H. S. Foster; Ernest M. Taylor. Books added and many relics added to the Paul Holland Knowlton Memorial Museum. Extensive improvements contemplated in the spring, and already funds have been raised for the purpose.

The Champlain Society. Toronto. 1905. Membership of 500 and a waiting list. Sir Edmund Walker, C. V. O., LL. D., D. C. L.; secretaries: Prof. George M. Wrong, Major Eric N. Armour. Address: The Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, The Canadian Bank of Commerce. No publications on account of the war. The society has in type three volumes of Wood's War of 1812, and the first volume of six of the Works of Samuel de Champlain, and in manuscript material for several future volumes, including the Journals of La Verendrye, the Administration of Sir Charles Bagot in Canada, and Clergy Reserves.

Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute. St. Thomas, Ontario. H. S. Wegg.

Essex Historical Society. Windsor, Ontario. 1904. 70 members. A. P. E. Panet; Andrew Braid. A very handsome pillar was erected on the grounds of Assumption Church near Windsor, the spot where the first Christian place of worship was built by the Jesuits, 1728.

Huron Institute. Collingwood. 1904. 60 members. F. T. Hodgson, honorary president; David Williams, secretary-treasurer. Many additions to museum, particularly local pictures. About 4,000 exhibits in museum. Rooms given over to Red Cross, also used by Daughters of the Empire, and other patriotic organizations. Two scrap books on Collingwood and the war prepared and contributed by vice president, Miss F. A. Redmond.

Kingston (Canada) Historical Society. Kingston, Ontario. Prof. W. L. Grant.

London and Middlesex Historical Society. London, Ontario. Rev. George M. Cox, 746 Waterloo Street.

Lundys Lane Historical Society. Niagara Falls, Ontario. 1887. 50 members. R. W. Geary; John H. Jackson. Two publications under way: *Church History of Niagara Frontier*, and *School History of Niagara Frontier*.

Missisquoi County Historical Association. Bedford, P. Q. 30 members. F. C. Saunders; R. P. Small, Dunham, P. Q. No work during past two years owing to war conditions.

Niagara Historical Society. Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont. 1895. 260 members. Miss Janet Carnochan; Mrs. E. Ascher. Publications: No. 30, Some notable results of the war, sketch of the Hon. William Dickson, original documents reprinted, nos. 2, 3, 4; no. 29, Correspondence of Sheriff Hamilton in 1837, presented to the society (800 copies) by Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun. Many

additions to the books, documents, and pictures. Address at an opening meeting by Rev. A. F. MacGregor. Annual picnic at Queenston Heights in August.

Nova Scotia Historical Society. Halifax. 1878. 425 members. David Allison; Harry Piers. Publications: Collections, vol. 19.

Ontario Historical Society. Toronto. 1888. 347 annual, 50 ex officio, 10 delegates, 6 honorary, 7 corresponding, 3 life, total 423 members. Prof. John Squair; A. F. Hunter, Normal School Bldg. Publications: Annual Report for 1917; Papers and Records, no. 15. Additions to library reported at last meeting: 232 books, 345 pamphlets, etc. Eighteen affiliated societies.

Société Historique de Montréal. Montreal. 1858. 80 members. Victor Morin, LL. D.; Prof. Napoleon Brisebois, 340 St. Denis Street. This society was reorganized last year and has held regular monthly meetings since, at which historical papers were presented by its members; organized the celebration of the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the foundation of Montreal, on which occasion it led the public in a visit of the historic places of old Montreal; has taken lead in the creation of a national museum of arts in Montreal; is making provision for the installation of commemorative tablets on historic places in Montreal.

The Woman's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa. Ottawa. 1898. 148 members. Mrs. J. Lorn McDougall; Mrs. J. M. Somerville, 188 James Street. Publications: Annual Report for year 1916-17; Transactions, vol. 7, 1916-17. The city of Ottawa gave this year, for our headquarters, the old Registry Building, which was opened October 25, 1917, by Mayor Fisher, as the Bytown Historical Museum, and we have started an interesting collection of historical pictures, furniture, etc., pertaining to the city.

Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. Miss M. Agnes Fitzgibbon, Hillcrest, Bracondale, Toronto.

V. PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE OF TEACHERS
OF HISTORY.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., DECEMBER 29, 1917.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY.

At a joint session of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland and the American Historical Association, held at Philadelphia, December 29, 1917, Dean Marshall S. Brown, of New York University, presided.

The CHAIRMAN. The subject matter of Prof. Johnson's paper is so vitally important, and he is so full of that subject that I am going to take no time in introducing him. He is too well known to need an introduction, but we congratulate ourselves that we have this subject and this speaker this morning. Prof. Johnson, Teachers' College, Columbia University, will now speak to us on the "School course in history; some precedents and a possible next step."

Prof. JOHNSON. In the practice of Continental Europe a school course in history has come to mean a carefully graded, connected, organic program, adjusted to the needs of a given kind of school and designed to be completed by all pupils who pass through that kind of school. Courses in history in this sense began to appear in Europe in the seventeenth century. On the Continent they have for more than 100 years been a part of the established order in secondary schools, and for about 50 years a part of the established order in elementary schools. They have provided for secondary schools a continuous, required study of history extending over the entire school period, and for elementary schools a continuous required study of history extending over at least four or five years, and sometimes over the entire school period.

In the United States, from about 1815, when school instruction in history first began to assume perceptible proportions, until about 1890, the prevalent idea was to provide subjects in history rather than to organize courses in history. Neither the problem of grading materials nor the problem of establishing connection between the subjects attracted much attention. In elementary schools the subject was from the beginning the history of the United States, commonly taught in the eighth grade only, but sometimes also in lower grades. In academies and high schools the subjects, the arrangement of subjects, and the time allotted varied greatly. Sometimes the work was confined to general history or to ancient history; sometimes to the history of the United States. Sometimes two or all three of these subjects were offered, and even required. Sometimes English his-

tory was substituted for one of them, or added as a fourth subject. Other subjects separately listed were Grecian antiquities, Roman antiquities, mythology, and, occasionally, church history. Any one of these subjects might stand either at the beginning or at the end of the school program, or at any point between the beginning and the end. The time allowance for a subject ranged from six weeks to a year.

In the midst of this chaos the Madison Conference of 1892, after resolving unanimously to "suggest nothing that was not already being done in some good schools," found none the less some precedents for an approach to a course in history. The program proposed by the conference to the committee of ten was in a measure graded and connected. It embraced in one view both the elementary school and the high school. It provided for eight years of continuous, required study, with an alternative of six years of continuous, required study. But these ideas were apparently too far in advance of average American practice to be regarded as practical. The committee of ten rejected the recommendations for the elementary school as beyond its province and left history for the high school a collection of subjects. The committee of seven made familiar the "block system." The first two blocks taken in the order proposed might constitute a course. The other two blocks merely continued the subject system. As this program has been administered not more than two of the four blocks have on the average been made available, and the blocks actually taken, whatever the combination, have been treated in the main as subjects in history and not as related parts of a course in history. The committee of eight undertook to provide progressive steps and a continuous program for elementary schools, but the topics for the first six years lacked real connection. The committee of five, in revising the work of the committee of seven, made a distinct advance in the direction of continuity, but its view of the field of history was somewhat narrow. None of our numerous committees, and scarcely any of our individual contributors of the last 25 years, can be said to have achieved for the school course in history either the degree of grading or the degree of connection achieved in Europe.

Since the report of the committee of five we seem to have suffered a relapse. The sympathies of the general educational public, never very responsive to the course idea, are now plainly enlisted in favor of a principle that threatens, in some of its present applications, the disintegration even of subjects in history. What is important to us in the present, we are being told, must determine what is important to us in the past, and what is most important to us in the present is our own community. The history program must, therefore, be determined by the special interests and special problems of the community. There must be as many kinds of programs as there are kinds of com-

munity interests and problems, and a uniform program in history is neither possible nor desirable. Furthermore, these programs must change with the changing interests and problems of the community. What is important this year, or even this month, or this week, may not be important at all next year, or next month, or next week. The coming of the war has, it is true, directed the principle into broader channels. The need of international friendships and national patriotism, and incidentally the need of a reasonable and proper hatred for our enemies, tend in these tremendous and tragic days to overshadow the narrower interests and problems of the community. But the principle of confining history to issues directly suggested by present issues remains the same.

On this principle it is entirely feasible to construct a program in history. A program can, indeed, almost be induced to make itself. All that is necessary, as some very logical advocates of the principle have already discovered, is to let the program follow the current issue of the *Independent*, the *Outlook*, the *Literary Digest*, or the *Review of Reviews*. The principle itself is old enough to be respectable. It was suggested and applied in the seventeenth century. Christian Weise, as far back as 1676, was led by it to emphasize quite in our present manner even the study of current events. The French reformers who drafted the famous school decree of 1793 carried the principle farther than our own reformers have as yet ventured to carry it. But no one, so far as I know, has succeeded in constructing upon this principle a course in history. The reason is clear. If the content of history is to be determined by present interests and problems, and if such interests and problems are constantly changing, only a prophet could plan a connected, organic course in history for the whole or any considerable part of the 12 years of school life, and even such a course would require reconstruction for each set of pupils beginning the course.

Continental Europe has achieved grading, connection, and continuity in the history course to a degree that leaves our practice essentially primitive. It has not, however, achieved historicalness. From the seventeenth century to the opening of the twentieth century, history for school purposes was history always in the service of some immediate social need. Instruction was shaped with a view to educational results, and these results were rarely conditioned upon making the past itself intelligible. European compilers of material sinned consciously and courageously against fact. They admitted without hesitation doubtful anecdote and downright fable. They unblushingly paraded national bias. They violated the most elementary sense of historical proportion. They took, in a word, such liberties with history as seemed to them essential to make history useful. The French program of 1902 introduced the radically different

principle that the value of history, like the value of any other subject, consists in its being true, and in this spirit undertook to trace "the principal transformations of humanity." But such views are still exceptional. Outside of France the older tradition is still dominant. It may be summed up in the dictum: History is anything that history is good for.

For the lower grades of the elementary school we have sinned against the verities of history as courageously as any European people, but the best of our recent textbooks for the upper grades and for the high school may safely challenge comparison even with the best of French textbooks in their regard for fact. Like the French books, they seem to assume that history has something to do with the past as the past; that the past itself can be explained only in terms of what is important in and to the past, and that the past itself must be explained if the past is to be of any service in explaining the present. This, in comparison with the average practice of Europe, is revolutionary doctrine. It is, however, not generally recognized as revolutionary in the United States. It is, in fact, rather commonly regarded as reactionary by those who in the name of reform and progress are now leading us back to the older tradition that history is only what history seems at the moment to be good for. I do not say that our textbook writers have altogether succeeded in making the past intelligible; but in so far as they have recognized that history in school should be not only educational but also historical, they, and not their critics, are the real innovators, the real radicals, the real revolutionists.

The traditional and conventional attitude toward history as a school study has been accentuated and illustrated anew under the pressure of war. We must, as all of us know, win the war. To that supreme purpose every other consideration must be subordinated. Personal convictions, personal emotions, even the love for truth, must blend in one harmonious, overpowering, stern will to victory. What can not be blended must for the moment be ended. Inevitable, therefore, the question uppermost in the minds of thousands of history teachers to-day, and in the minds of other thousands who are not history teachers, is, "What can history do for victory?" Inevitably the first answers spring out of that wise human instinct which meets needs as they arise without paralyzing scrutiny of the logic involved.

Observing a certain lack of warmth in the attitude of some Americans toward the English, attention is directed to the old charge that the study of the American Revolution in our schools tends to promote an anti-British state of mind. Observing further that this state of mind might conceivably hamper cooperation with our British ally, it is a natural reaction to demand revision of our textbooks with a

view to the cultivation of a pro-British state of mind, and that reaction is now actually in evidence. In a similar spirit it is urged that our school instruction in history should be revised in the direction of a fuller and more generous recognition of our indebtedness to the French, to the Italians, to the Poles, and to other peoples. At a meeting in New York, some months ago, representatives of non-English elements in our population set forth with such conviction and eloquence the contributions of their respective peoples that Americans of English ancestry might well have wondered if anything of really great importance in the making of the United States remained for them to claim. That is one side of the balance. On the other side we have the disagreeable discovery of divided allegiance and a growing demand, in which some historians share, that history in school should, with all possible courage and all possible devotion, be turned to the one great task of building up a national patriotism. This appears to be just now the dominant call.

The call is, of course, not new. It has been sounded many times before in the United States and elsewhere, and history, in the United States and elsewhere, has many times responded, with consequences sufficiently apparent to those who care to look for them. We do not seem to look for them. We are not greatly interested in precedents. It is enough for us that an urgent need exists and that we have the instinct to meet it. We are, however, meeting it in a way that the precedents would approve, if we had the time and the inclination to invoke them. The Germans, for example, in the crisis of the conflict with Napoleon, had a problem in making history in school serve the cause of patriotism, identical in some fundamental respects with our present problem. Their arguments, and even their language, translated into English, would be found almost identical with arguments and language heard in the United States in 1917. The German arguments won. For almost a century history has been a factor in building up Germanism and that German view of the world of which we have had so many recent examples. We have of late not greatly admired the results. Shall we now, under the stress of circumstances similar to those that confronted Germany one hundred years ago, repeat the German response?

We can not, it may be urged, repeat the German response because the ideals and institutions which we seek to perpetuate differ radically from German ideals and institutions. But they also differ radically from the ideals and institutions of many other peoples. We wish to build up of course Americanism and an American view of the world. Shall we not in that way, unless we can Americanize the world, exclude, just as the Germans in building up Germanism and a German view of the world, have excluded an understanding of other peoples? The penalty imposed by the German experiment,

now beginning to be understood even by Germans, is the tragic isolation of Germany. We are not at present in a state of isolation, and we flatter ourselves that we understand at least the Germans. Some of us are not altogether certain that we do in fact understand the Germans, but if we do understand them, we scarcely give the credit to any history learned in school. Shall we now turn history into channels still further removed from an understanding of other peoples? Strong influences are urging us in that direction.

There are, however, counteracting influences. One of the most potent is the conviction of profound ignorance which has fallen upon us in our enforced study of the war. Instruction in history outside of school has been provided on a scale never before known and has ranged over a broader field than ever before. Corners of the earth not mentioned in our textbooks, peoples neglected because they were assumed to have nothing to do with the development of American civilization, have suddenly been thrust upon our notice in newspapers, in pamphlets, in books, in lectures, on the street, at church, at the theater until those of us who have not cried for mercy and stopped looking and listening, have actually discovered that the United States and western Europe have, after all, certain historical connection with the rest of the human race. Another conviction that has fallen upon us in the vast confusion of fact and inference and counsel created by the war is that there is such a problem as that of knowing how to look and listen intelligently. Outside of school we are feeling as we never felt before, the need of really understanding other peoples. Such progress as we have made in understanding the Germans has brought with it the pleasant sensation of seeming to understand ourselves better. Such progress as we have made in understanding our Allies has left a similar impression. We are in a mood for generalization on the need of understanding other peoples, even those other peoples in our own country to whom we are now striving to make clear the duties of American citizenship. We are ready to grant to an extent not hitherto granted, that the better we can understand other peoples, and the more other peoples we can understand, the better we shall be able to understand and to appreciate that part of ourselves which is distinctively American. So far the need is personal and selfish. But we are not entirely selfish. We feel a need of understanding other peoples for their sake as well as for our own. We have taken our place with other peoples in a drama that touches, and will continue to touch, the entire world, and for the good of the world we want to understand other peoples. The lesson for history teachers is plain.

If this analysis of precedents and of present tendencies is correct, it is a fair inference that the problem of shaping history for schools is somewhat complicated. If, however, we are, as we profess to be,

lovers of progress; if by progress we mean building upon the experience of the race, and not building as if nothing had ever been built before, there is a possible next step which can at least be described. Continental Europe has shown us how to make a graded, connected, organic program. Our own experience has taught us a certain regard for fact. France has developed both a graded, connected, organic program and a regard for fact, and has taken for its theme the development of humanity. The war has thrust us into the views of history even in the high and holy cause of patriotism. We can not in these spacious times rest content with merely provincial views of history even in the high and holy cause of patriotism. We want patriotism, but we do not want the patriotism of self-satisfied isolation. We want a patriotism founded upon the kind of understanding of ourselves which comes from an understanding of other peoples, and which brings with it a sense of duty to our neighbors as well as to ourselves. We want history for victory, but we want history still more for what is to come after victory. We are making and living world history, and we must face the problem of teaching world history. The logical next step, if we really wish to move forward, is, then, to take for our field, humanity, and to organize a course in history for schools that shall represent as accurately as possible and explain as adequately as possible the development of humanity. What does this imply?

In the first place, our facts must be historical and must be recognized as historical. They must represent history that actually happened and not history that might have happened, nor even history that ought to have happened. The best of our textbooks for the upper grades and for the high school have already met in part this condition. They treat of history that actually happened. They give us facts. They do not as a rule indicate what it is that makes a fact historical. Facts of widely different degrees of probability, mere personal opinion and pure speculation are mingled in one body of assured information, and the pupil is likely to reduce this information to one common level of certainty and to look upon a fact in history as any statement printed in a history book. Roger Williams was born in 1607. Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts because of his religious opinions. Massachusetts should not have banished Roger Williams. The Massachusetts Bay Puritans came to America to establish civil and religious liberty; the Puritan ideals were narrow and intolerant. Liberty of conscience would have fared better in New England if Roger Williams had never been born. The world knows the history of Massachusetts by heart. The Massachusetts Bay spirit has made the United States the greatest nation in history. We have the printed word for all of these statements. All of them are alike

historical in the sense that they are statements actually made in the past. But in other respects they obviously neither belong to one common species nor stand on one common level of probability or of generality. The simplest kind of intelligence in reading history requires some conception of the kinds of evidence behind such statements, and of the kinds of operations by which they are built up. History, that is, to be historical must involve not only the question, "What does the author mean?" but the further questions, "How does he know?" and "Is it true?" This does not imply the source method as commonly understood. It does imply some classification of facts according to kind and according to degree of probability and of generality, and sufficient illustration to make the pupil conscious of differences.

In the second place, facts must be selected and arranged from the standpoint of development and with a view to conveying an impression of development. In determining what is important or unimportant we must look primarily for interests and problems that shaped the past, and not primarily for interests and problems now shaping the present. Again, since development implies change, and since the idea of change in the world can be grasped only through a perception of differences, we must emphasize differences between past and present. Here again the best of our textbooks have already met in part the condition. Within the subjects provided by our history programs they have endeavored to trace development. They have not to the same extent nor in the same spirit endeavored to trace the development of humanity. They have not to the extent of modern French practice emphasized differences between peoples and institutions, and therefore have not brought home as vividly as French textbooks the idea of change in the world.

In the third place we must strive for continuity, for history one and indivisible, one continuous, continuing process. In this condition we encounter our greatest difficulties, and it is here that we have made the least progress.

The first difficulty is that of reducing the characteristics of the one continuous, continuing process to proportions that fall within the limits of school time and school intelligence. Here the French have, I think, in their program of 1902, succeeded beyond any other people. They have succeeded because eminently competent French historians had the courage really to face the problem and a sense of its importance which held them to years of devoted labor. One of them remarked in Paris in 1904 that he had deliberately turned aside from special research and given 20 years to the task of tracing for school boys "the principal transformations of humanity." No mind of equal training, equipment, and power has as yet given itself for any such period to the task in the United States. The occasion has

scarcely arisen. We have been talking and thinking of subjects in history, and not of courses in history.

The second difficulty is that presented by our system of school organization and administration. Pure democracy and undefiled in American public education has meant until recently a common opportunity for eight years of study that scarcely looked beyond the elementary school, followed abruptly by a common opportunity for four years of additional study that looked chiefly to the entrance requirements for college. By this scheme secondary education has been postponed two years beyond the usual period in Europe, and invidious distinctions in the elementary school between pupils with and pupils without high-school prospects, and in the high school between pupils with and pupils without college prospects have been avoided. The principle in the elementary school has been that what is good enough for the majority is good enough for the minority, and in the high school that what is good enough for the minority is good enough for the majority. In consequence of this system of organization we have been forced in the elementary school to shape programs for those who expect to drop out, and in the high school we have been held to subjects prescribed or accepted for entrance to college. Where under such a system is the place, and where the inspiration, for continuity of historical study?

The junior high-school movement promised at first some measure of relief. It looked for a time as if we might plan a related course in history extending throughout the six years of the elementary school and the three years of the junior high school. It even looked for a time as if we might base the work in the senior high school upon the nine years of preparation below. But the prospect is now changing. In system after system organized on the 6-3-3 plan the edict has gone forth that we can have at most two years for history in the junior high school, with American history in any case the one indispensable subject, and that in the senior high school we must continue to meet college entrance requirements. As for the six years of the elementary school, we are reminded that conditions for history must for the present be so adjusted as to admit freely of the transfer of pupils from six-year elementary schools to eight-year elementary schools, and from eight-year elementary schools to six-year elementary schools. We thus appear to have gained for history three independent, unrelated units in place of the former two.

We can not, of course, escape altogether the limitations imposed by our system of school organization. But between the difficulty due to these limitations and the difficulty created by the principle of continuity itself there is, I suspect, some relation. It is true that teachers of history have been occupied with subjects in history be-

cause school administrators have not left room for courses in history. It is also true that school administrators have not left room for courses in history because teachers of history have been occupied with subjects in history. The question of initial responsibility for this situation might be worth a quarrel. But teachers of history need not begin it. It is enough for them to admit that neither they nor school administrators have given really anxious thought to the significance of continuity in history programs, and that neither they nor school administrators have developed the kind of conviction that has been developed in Europe. This limitation at least can be removed.

Here, in my judgment, is the point at which our attack must begin. Do we really believe that a course in history is desirable? Have we any consistent principles that we are ready to apply? I have tried this morning to set forth the principles which have gradually unfolded themselves for me in the course of some years of attention to the history of history teaching. They seem to me in the light of past experiments and experiences to represent a step forward. Whether they are so regarded or not, whether they are worthy of consideration or not, some body of principles we must have if we are to have a course in history. The alternative is the confusion which has reigned from the beginning in the teaching of history in the United States and which still reigns.

In the ends to be sought by a course in history we are in part on old, familiar ground. We want to understand the present. We want to understand ourselves in the community and in the Nation. We want to understand American ideals and American institutions. We want to be made efficient socialized Americans of the twentieth century. But we want to be made also efficient partners in the grand enterprise of cooperating with the rest of the human race.

In closing, may I venture to suggest to those who are irrevocably committed to other ways of dealing with history, and especially to those who, on principle, do not believe in principles, that certain comments which have doubtless occurred to them have already been applied to most of the plans now actually in force and have grown so familiar that anyone bold enough to face an audience like this may be presumed to have given them his earnest consideration. I have, I assure you, been reminded beyond any possibility of forgetting, that college professors are ignorant of school conditions; that teachers of history are sometimes incompetent, usually untrained, and always overworked; that children in the elementary school have immature minds; that boys and girls in the high school are adolescents; that colleges have entrance requirements; that the curriculum is crowded; that the time for history is short, and that, after all, it is not the course in history that matters; it is not the idea of development; it

is not the idea of continuity; it is the personality of the teacher. On the one point that does matter I pause merely to remark that those who have personality—and it is always the other teacher who has not—should thank the Lord, and that those who have it not should pray for personality but not expect too much.

The CHAIRMAN. The discussion of this very significant and, to us, vitally important and interesting paper, will be begun by Prof. R. M. Tryon, of the University of Chicago. Those who are to take part in the discussion whose names are on the program will be limited to 10 minutes. I hope that thereafter we may have a large number of pertinent discussions limited to five minutes.

Mr. TRYON. Mr. Chairman and fellow teachers, I want to say in the beginning that I thoroughly believe in a course idea as advocated by Prof. Johnson, and I also thoroughly believe that that idea will in time be injected into the history work done in our public schools. If this great association would take this matter up with enthusiasm definite results would soon follow. For the truth of this statement one needs but to look to what the association has accomplished in the past along this line. The chaotic state in which we find ourselves at the present time regarding history in the elementary and high schools is very similar to that found by the committee of seven nearly 20 years ago. At that time we were organizing new schools, we were perfecting the eighth grade, we were commissioning new high schools with courses four years in duration. No one seemed to know what history to teach in these rapidly growing high schools. At the opportune time the report of the committee of seven appeared; this report brought order out of chaos. Whether or not we now agree to the order it brought, the fact remains that it did bring order, and if you will study the statistics of history in the high schools, say 10 years after this committee made its report, you will be amazed at its widespread influence. The committee of eight referred to by Prof. Johnson had similar influence on the course of study in the elementary schools. While it has been less than 10 years since that report came to the public, its influence has been felt throughout the country. Its influence, no doubt, would continue to be felt through another decade were it not for the fact that the organization of the elementary school for which it was planned is being displaced by an organization to which the report does not seem to be adapted. This fact makes it very urgent that this association again attack the history program and bring some order out of the chaotic condition in which we now find ourselves. As Prof. Johnson suggests, when we upset the eight-year idea and substitute a six-year elementary school, we might say that we have overthrown the report of the committee of eight, however good it might have been. We have overthrown, in a measure, the report of the committee of seven

when we substitute a three-year high-school course for a four-year high-school course; and when we inject the junior high school of three years between the elementary grades and the senior high school, we have a new organization which was provided for neither in the report of the committee of seven nor in the report of the committee of eight; so we are facing a situation which we must immediately get under control. I think the American Historical Association should assume the leadership in adjusting the history program to these new organizations. There is danger of its losing the leadership at the present time. What is needed is an early realization that we are confronted by conditions unknown to the committees of seven and eight, and that we must make a history program to meet these new conditions. The association need not be autocratic in its suggestions. The truth of the matter is, I feel, that we can not put this thing over by being autocratic about it. I think that we must take our friends, the educational psychologists, the educational sociologists, and the educational administrators, into our confidence. We must realize that there is a conflict between the opinions they hold and those held by us. I have jotted down a few of these conflicts as I see them at the present time. I have put on one side the historians who are to-day thinking about a course in history, and the psychologists, the sociologists, and educational administrators on the other. Here are some of the conflicting opinions: The historians believe in history for its own sake, while the educational psychologists, sociologists, and administrators believe in history for the sake of the child. To them the child is the center of gravity, therefore everything must be turned in its direction; courses of study do not matter, subjects do not matter, but the child—in it all our interests must lie. Again, historians believe in the chronological method of approach and the logical development of the subject; while on the other hand the educational psychologists, sociologists, and administrators care little about chronological approach and logical development. Furthermore, the historians insist that we must have a whole story—that the history of the United States, for example, must begin at the beginning and the story must be told logically from 1492 right down to the present time. On the other hand, the educational psychologists, sociologists, and administrators have little interest in this complete story. They say begin at the present if you like, or in the middle, and go in any direction you choose. The historians also believe that there must be a rather detailed view of a period or epoch; the other folks say that a general view in most cases is sufficient. And finally the historians claim that one can not understand the present until one knows and understands the past. The educators tell us that the important thing is to understand the present, and if the past will help, well and good, but we

should start with the present and then if there is anything in the past that we need we can go back and bring it to view. I could go on and enumerate other conflicting opinions relating to history in schools held by the historians and the educators, but this seems unnecessary. I have mentioned enough for you to see the trend of affairs at the present time. It is to be regretted that Prof. Johnson can not continue at the head of our committee. He is the second chairman of this committee whom we have lost; we are drifting along, unfortunately, but of course we can not help these changes; but it seems to me that we should take this thing in hand soon and get to work. It is not a little job, it is a big job. Four or five of us can not get together and propose a program. The work of the committee of seven has amounted to something because the members devoted four or five years to the work: that is why its work has been so influential. The major portion of the time of some one must be spent in working out a program to meet the conditions that we are facing at this time. I think this committee needs the services of a paid secretary to take charge of this work. This would make possible a thorough survey of present-day conditions in order to find out what all classes of educators are thinking and a number are doing. Our committee would then be able to propose a real program to the educational psychologists, sociologists, and administrators—a program based on facts as well as opinions; a program which would be well received because of the method employed in its construction. To make such a program is the next step which I think this association should take and bring to completion as soon as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. The discussion will be continued by Dr. A. M. Wolfson, of the High School of Commerce, New York City.

Dr. WOLFSON. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, the way my name appears in this program indicates, in part at least, the way in which I have been rapidly changing my point of view in the course of the past three or four years. Prof. Tryon spoke of the difference in point of view between the historians and the educational administrators and educational psychologists. When I was in the DeWitt Clinton High School I was perhaps a historian—certainly a history teacher. Since then I have perhaps changed my point of view; certainly I have become an educational administrator, maybe an educational psychologist. I am interested now in the history course as part of a general curriculum in a high school, whether it be in an academic high school or in a technical high school, such as the High School of Commerce. I believe from watching the boys and girls in high schools that our course of study must be so fashioned that while it is in progress it will meet the present interests of the boys and girls, so that when it is completed it will meet their interest as citizens of

the United States. That far I am, in spite of Prof. Johnson's assertions, a strong believer in using current events as part of the high-school course.

A year ago I had something to say on that subject, and I tried to make plain then, as I wish to make plain now, my point of view. I do not believe in abandoning all textbooks in history, in forgetting Greece and Rome and medieval Europe, in starting with the answer that was made a day or two ago by the Teutonic allies to the Russian proposal for peace, but I do believe there must be in our course something of what is going on in Austria and Germany and Russia if we are to keep our history in close touch with the lives of the children. I should say then that primarily our course of study must be made with the present interests of our children constantly in mind. So far, you see, I am an educational psychologist rather than a historian.

The thing that is distressing to me as an educational administrator is the fact that when I walk into the room of a history teacher I am apt to find the boys discussing, for example, the early history of England, the period of the Roman occupation, and the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, and I am almost certain to find them reproducing word for word the same stories that they told when they were in the sixth and seventh grades in the elementary schools. There is, in other words, no differentiation in our work between the elementary-school attack and the high-school attack. Our children get the same thing over and over again. I wish that some one would work out a course of study so that boys and girls who studied English history or American history in the elementary schools should when they come to study these subjects in the high school at least study them from a different point of view.

Perhaps because I have in the past few years been associated with a special type of school, with a commercial high school rather than the general high school, I have become more and more convinced that one way out of the present difficulty is to adjust our causes to the different needs of the different types of pupils. I should like to see in the High School of Commerce, for example, an attack of our problem from the point of view of commercial development. I believe that our boys would get incidentally a larger understanding of the political development of the Nation if they made their attack from the point of view of the history of commerce. Similarly, I believe that in the industrial high school the course of study should approach history from the point of view of industrial development. In conclusion, I should like to take up, just for a moment, a somewhat unrelated topic. Prof. Johnson in his address referred to the necessity that appears at the present time of inculcating Americanism and American patriotism in our teaching of history. I have not been con-

vinced thus far that the doing of this thing consciously will result in the ends that most of us have in view. I am still convinced that what I believed and what most of this audience believed 5 or 10 years ago about the purpose of our history teaching, that it was to inculcate historical-mindedness and understanding of the past, and of the relation of nations in the past without regard to an emphasis upon American accomplishment and American ideals, is still here. I believe in the long run we shall serve our purposes best and that we shall be able to inculcate in our students a true Americanism if we continue our attempt to understand what were the things that led to temporary hostilities between the American colonists and the men in England, what were the things that led to the American Revolution, without attempting to gloss over the misunderstanding in England of American purposes. If we continue to teach the American Revolution, for example, as we have always taught it, we shall, I believe, perform the miracle in the future that we performed in the past; we shall make of boys and girls born in Germany, in Poland, in Austria, in Russia, in France, or in Italy, at the end of 10 years of schooling, good Americans. I do not believe that it would be wise for us to abandon, in the stress of war times, all the things that we stood for, for so many years before the war came.

The CHAIRMAN. The discussion will be continued by Prof. Henry E. Bourne, of the Western Reserve University.

Prof. BOURNE. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I want to say just a word or two about some of the aims of the committee of eight, if I may be pardoned, having been a member of the committee. The committee of eight set out to do the things which Prof. Johnson has commended—that is, to introduce a course of study in history in the elementary schools. What we had in mind was this program I have in my hand; that is, the French program of 1902. There were difficulties, which Prof. Johnson realizes quite as well and better than I. One of the difficulties was the fact that the committee could not obtain a block of four years for the course, including the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. That was our original plan. But the superintendents on our committee held that so many pupils leave at the end of the fifth grade that it was absolutely necessary to have a course in American history, treated according to the biographical method, in the fifth grade. We were accordingly restricted to a block of three years. This increased the difficulty of the problem.

Undoubtedly, our solution of the problem is open to improvement, but it is true that wherever the plan of the committee of eight has been introduced the schools are working, consciously or unconsciously, upon the principle commended by Prof. Johnson.

In the construction of the program I want to point out one or two difficulties. It has been said that the French program in history

embodies a study of the development of humanity rather than a study of the history of France. However, if we look at the program for the first cycle we find that the first year of the four is devoted to ancient history, but that the bulk of the material for the second year is drawn from French history. The French have the advantage that the history of their country illustrates the development of civilization better perhaps than does the history of any other country. From the Roman Empire down, their history may be treated as the nucleus about which the experience of the rest of the world is grouped. Not so with us. Although our civilization, being European, is as ancient as theirs, it is not until we reach the period of the discoveries that we seem to be on American ground. This complicates the problem of the continuous course.

The CHAIRMAN. The next discussion is by Prof. Herbert D. Foster, Dartmouth College.

Prof. FOSTER. Among the admirable features of Prof. Johnson's comprehensive conspectus was the way in which he forestalled criticisms by mentioning them himself and sweeping them aside. His excellently planned structure is well adapted to a siege, for he has left us exits rather than entrances; his castle has sally ports for himself but no drawbridge let down for our attack.

He has mentioned the schemes of educational sociologists and psychologists, but are we sufficiently on guard against the uneducated sociologist? While he was speaking I found among my mail an appeal which took for granted that a teacher of history could without hesitation reel off "a list of a few of the most comprehensive books with which you are acquainted," giving "a short outline study of the religious beliefs of the world; also the beliefs of men in the Stone Age, which I take to be the condition of the American Indians and of the African Negroes when the whites came first in contact with them." Is it any less absurd to expect a teacher in the secondary school to develop historical-mindedness and a reasonable amount of intellectual modesty while fox-trotting with her pupils over most of the surface of the earth in a single year?

However we may differ as to how long a period we should cover, can we not agree to recognize manifest limitations of time, maturity, and natural interest, and join in trying to help teacher and pupil in differentiating the essential from the unessential? When I sit down to talk over with a boy or girl a considerable block of a book, say like Green's *Short History of the English People*, I realize what a body of material there is that the young reader could not be expected to note or long remember, and how difficult it is for him to recognize the important things. The difficulty of the enormous body of material facing the immature pupil appears even more clearly when one

looks at even the most carefully prepared papers for the examining of secondary school pupils. The stretch of time, the variety of books, the range of topics are so tremendous that there is obvious need of some approach to a consensus of opinion as to what should be emphasized and what may be neglected. Only through elimination, selection, and emphasis can teacher and pupil win time for some degree of thoroughness, and opportunity for real training through enlightening questions and problems such as Prof. Johnson has suggested in his book and his address. Such selection and elimination can not be done solely by a single writer or teacher, or dictated to all and sundry in cast-iron form by any committee representative of only one stage of teaching. Such a piece of work, to command confidence and prove workable, must be somewhat elastic and must be the product of cooperation, and not of contention or exploitation.

If we are to work out a generally acceptable plan, teachers in elementary schools, secondary schools, and colleges must pool their knowledge and experience. Through such consensus of opinion as to what should be and what has proved to be worth while teaching, we can arrive at some agreement as to what should be emphasized, so that to other topics the relieved teacher may devote as much or as little time as his own judgment approves. If this association, through its committee on history in schools, could cooperate with the committees of the various history teachers' associations who have already given time and thought to this plan, and then say to teachers, "we feel, having gone over the field together, that certain things prove to be fundamental, and you can afford to take time to teach these essential things well," then teachers and pupil would have a certain freedom from the feeling that they must cover, as of equal importance, everything mentioned in the textbook. Teachers would then feel a certain freedom to take up other topics in which they are especially interested or in which they find pupils taking keen interest; for they would find time for such matters of local or personal interest because relieved of the burden of the omnium gatherum of Father Time, and able to pass over altogether some of the antiquities in the rag bag, or make any passing use they may wish of the eventually negligible. Whatever your committee may do, however comprehensive and ambitious its program, this marking out of consensus of opinion as to what is essential and deserving of emphasis in the various fields of history is vital to any report.

It was the demand for something of this sort on the part of both school and college teachers, expressed repeatedly at conferences of the American Historical Association, at meetings of history teachers' associations from New England to California, and through replies to questionnaires, that gave this committee on history in schools its ex-

istence and its primary object.¹ A comparatively brief list of essential topics to be emphasized (not an elaborate syllabus) together with lists of topics for collateral reading, such as was asked for by replies from teachers in secondary schools and in colleges, might be used in the testing of pupils at the close of a school course or at their entrance to college. Is it fanciful to think that possibly such lists of topics and examinations based on such lists and given by the school might help to speed the day when school and college might unite in recognizing the great value of a written examination given by the school on the basis of material agreed upon by consensus of school and college teachers? It should, however, be always remembered that the matter of college entrance is not and has not been the main object of this committee. It is of course only one of the things to be considered in the problem of the continuous teaching of history.

As in the matter of topics to be treated there must be some range for individuality and locality, so in programs, why should we not frankly recognize that alongside an ideal program of courses for all schools (if we only had some central authority to carry it through as in France) we should take into consideration differences of conditions and aims and background? We have a multitude of educational authorities in different parts of the country, and entirely different kinds of schools. There is the ordinary high school, the technical and commercial high, the junior and the senior high schools, the private schools, and the historic endowed academies. Then there are existing and well established courses that should be recognized as such and entitled to definition, whatever new courses may be hoped for. In 1914 Prof. Johnson, in his excellent book on the Teaching of History, reports that he found out of 600 schools only 10 per cent entirely neglecting the epoch-making report of the committee of seven; 85 per cent offered ancient history; 79 per cent American history; 76 per cent European; and 58 per cent English history. American history was required in 63 per cent of the schools, ancient history in 59 per cent. A school unable to give four years of history and trying to map out three years might naturally give two years to European and one to American history. The difficulty here is as to how far to go in the first year and still do work that is really historical and not merely perfunctory and uneducational. Could we not say to schools, If you are giving a four-year course as recommended by the committee of seven and the committee of five, or the slightly modified four-year course suggested by the committee of five, continue to give these if satisfactory; or if you can give but

¹ The origin and purpose of the movement, with analysis of 412 replies from teachers, may be found in *The History Teacher's Magazine*, June, 1916, pp. 191-193. Ninety-two per cent of those replying to the specific question favored a list of "essential main topics, with little or no subdivisions, which certainly ought to be included and emphasized."

three and are omitting the English (save as included in the European) continue to do so if the plan works well? If the ordinary high school can give but two years, one of these would inevitably be American and the other would probably be in the majority of schools with little interest in ancient and more interest in later times, a year in medieval and modern history, with emphasis on the modern period. On the other hand, where there is a natural interest in the classics and ancient civilization, why not make use of that environment and interest? Why should precisely the same selection of courses be made for the high school in Sleepy Eye, Dawn (in Darke County, Ohio), and in the Roxbury Latin School, and the Phillips Academy, Exeter? Why not teach thoroughly Greek and Latin civilization through both language and history courses, in schools with a sound historical background of appreciation of that civilization, where pupils can be led to understand and take interest in what they really know something about? That would give real knowledge and vital training. The quality of the knowledge and the training is more important than a uniformity which would have all pupils study the same period whatever the background and equipment of the school. We may well remember that England's cabinets have largely been drawn from the men who have been trained not merely in the classical languages, but in the politics, social life, and problems of Greek and Latin states, with that constant comparison with modern civilization which the well-read teacher and the reading and thinking pupil shall make. Quite different would be the environment and intellectual stimulus of the technical high school, or perhaps of a school in a town that had been lately founded, where interest would lie in more modern lines.

In any case let us try to cooperate in helping schools not to attempt more than they can do well. Let us give all the enthusiasm and intelligence we can to helping teachers and pupils in history to do something well, so that they may know the difference between the thing that is and the thing that is not, recognize the difference between knowing and guessing, and be ready to do their part not merely in making the world safe for democracy but in making democracy safe for the world.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose every one of us here has ideas about the subject that has been discussed, and I hope a very large number will desire to express those ideas. The time is yours, with the understanding that no one shall speak for more than five minutes.

Mr. MIMS. I was greatly impressed by what Prof. Foster said. I think he has struck one of the most vital problems that we have got to face. I think the first point of value that we have got to take up is not primarily the teaching of history. I am going to try to get out of one of the exits that Prof. Johnson closed up. I

think we must start with elementary and secondary education, and there we have immature minds, and the primary object of all educational systems is the training of those minds. What I am afraid of is this: If we go ahead and draft a program, the teachers will adopt it because it is something definite. That is where our textbooks have failed, very frequently, I think, in putting things into a too definite form. Students are continuing, on their entrance examinations (of which I have read a great many), to give back to you classified statements, classified knowledge, apparently without much effort at digestion. It has been a question of making the mind a phonographic record instead of an organ of digestion, and if you give a very definite program in the teaching of history, the teachers are going to accept it.

Now, I say we are after the education of those children, instead of teaching them so much history or attempting to teach them so much that we may keep them from studying subjects which are more profitable for them to study in the training of their minds. In other words, I think we must be very careful not to make too elaborate a program. Furthermore, might not the suggestion of subjects to be taught in the field to be covered by our teachers tempt them into too difficult programs? I am quite in sympathy with Prof. Foster's point of view that the prime need of American education, in history, or in anything with which we are concerned, is to teach well. If we do suggest a program, why can't we make some provision by which the teacher, if he does create a great deal of interest, or a school that finds itself in possession of a teacher who has enthusiasm, make provision by which the man that really teaches one thing well might teach that and not glide over a great many subjects? The course of American education to-day is along that line; we are wandering in the wilderness and trying to teach something of everything, and not teaching anything effectively. There are rare exceptions, but in general I think that is the great danger we are facing. I hope this association, therefore, will, through some form of committee, or acting as a body, not give to the secondary and elementary schools too much of a program, corrupting them along those lines in which I think our educational system has been corrupted too much. The great field which I hope to see developed under some program and of which I have heard no word this morning, is for the secondary school, the field of historical biography. I believe it is neglected, and it is a most fruitful field for approach to the study of history. Phillips Brooks once said at Exeter, in a talk to the boys there, that he thought the most effective way for a young chap to get interested in the past was through reading the life of some great leader, and that if he found himself unable to get interested in the first chapter of the book, he should turn to the close of the man's career and then read back.

We have this study of biography, and it seems to me that it is a tangible way to introduce the subject of history to children and I am surprised that it has not been more extensively used.

Mr. MOORE. I want to tell you what we are doing in Indiana. I never knew what was the matter with the State legislature, but I think I have found out this morning; I think its members have personality. Some time since the flood they demanded that if a student is going to study history for one year in high school it must be American history, and we have tried ever since to live that down. Last fall the State teachers' association, through the history section, appointed a committee to revise the history course. That committee did a good deal of work. It sent out several questionnaires. Eighty per cent responded, and we found some very astonishing things. We found that only 10 per cent of the students in the larger high schools have any use for a course in history, and 60 per cent of them with only one year which, under the State law, had to be American history. I am sorry I have not the figures with me. I can only give you general figures. We found that seventy-odd per cent of the Indiana high-school teachers are in three-teacher high schools. After a good deal of careful investigation, a committee reported this last fall to the State association and suggested a wise solution very similar to what Prof. Foster suggested—a two-year course. But we still have the State law, so that if we have a two or three year course the student must take one year of American history. Now, our two-year course is divided at 1715; that is, the first year is to cover the ground down to what we will say is the beginning of recent times, and the second year is to be spent on the last two centuries.

In addition to that there must be a course in American history which will include a good deal of civics. You see the two-year course includes American history, which is the State requirement. The association adopted that report of the committee and a resolution was sent to the State board, which adopted it, and the coming March the board is to make a five-year textbook adoption, and the new course is to be the thing around which the textbook condition centers. I am interested in the matter because I am on the committee, and the committee is to try to humanize the textbooks which have been sent in. We have already received two textbooks which fairly answer the demands of the two-year course. Each one is a two-volume set. I have looked them over very, very carefully. It is the same old story; most of the books deal with teaching the teacher, and the question is how to teach history to children. Now a great many of the teachers know a great deal more about history than they can possibly teach to the children. You gentlemen deal with college students; you are much nearer to the students than the high-school teacher is to his students, or to a still greater degree than the grade

teacher. There is a great gap which it is very difficult to bridge over, even though one knows it exists and tries very sincerely to bridge it over. We are going to try to make possible the use of those textbooks in a variety of schools. We have made no specific plans as yet, but we are going to try to suggest as many possible ways of using those books as we can, whether it happens to be a Salt Lake City or some place in New Hampshire. We have a population which is largely German in some neighborhoods in Indiana; in some counties 50 per cent of the people still speak only German, and the other part of the population is made up of people from Kentucky and New England, and we are going to try to suggest methods so broad that they will cover the local demands; and if I am so fortunate as to be here a year from now I should like to tell you what we have accomplished in our attempt to adjust the situation. I think the discussion this morning illustrates the fluid state in which the association finds itself in regard to the question of the teaching of history. I think that something ought to be done along the lines suggested by Prof. Tryon. I simply rose to say that there is a gentleman who, along with Prof. Johnson, has been for a long time working on a course of history for the high schools of the State of New York. I wish that Dr. A. C. Flick, of Syracuse University, would speak to us for a few minutes.

Dr. FLICK. I shall be very glad indeed to tell you what the committee in New York State has been thinking about. I don't know that I can give away all of the secrets of that committee; that is not expected. Perhaps the general character of our work can be completely understood when I say that Prof. Johnson has been, in a way, the guiding spirit in that committee. The committee feels that it has a very serious problem before it in the State of New York. We have unusual conditions there; we have a great city down along the lower end of the Hudson, with its own particular needs; we have also small towns and villages scattered throughout the remaining portions of the State, and there the conditions are very different, and the problems must be handled in a different way. Now, New York State, along with other States of the country, I believe, has honestly attempted to do something with the old recommendation of the block system, but I think in general it is true that we have found that while the idea was one toward which a great many teachers desired to strive, they found it absolutely impossible to work it out, not only in the four-year course, but even in the three-year course. As suggested by the gentleman from Indiana, they found that the State, through its appropriations, virtually compelled all of the schools in New York to teach American history if the State money was to be received, and there was virtually little time left, as you will understand, for three years or even two years of history work. The com-

mittee at its annual session has sought to meet that condition. We have not been able to teach the four-year or the three-year course. What can we do? Can we count on two years? Can we count on three years? And if we have two years, or three years, then what ought we to teach? What ought we to put into the high schools? The committee has discussed those questions, and in a way it has answered them. We have been led to hope that in New York State we might have three years for history work, and if that is done—if that is granted to us—then I believe the committee will recommend that the three years be divided up somewhat as follows.

The first year will be devoted to ancient history and to that period following the ancient field down to some more recent epoch, say, 1750 or 1789. That would probably be the plan and would mean that one-half of the first year would be devoted to the field of ancient history and the second half to the period following, down to 1789 or 1750. If but two years are allowed, there is to be a separation at that point, and students will have the opportunity of one year of American history with the world view in mind, American history as the center of world history, or he may go on and take up modern European history with the world history as the goal. If, however, he can devote his time to two years, then he will probably take as his second year modern European history from the world standpoint, and go on to the third year American, still from the world standpoint, with stress on civics. I think it is the general hope throughout the State that we may be able to obtain these three years, and, if we can, as far as my own view goes, I believe it would be a very decided step forward.

MISS TALL. Those of you who are familiar with the elementary schools know that up to this time we know what to do in geography—we know we must have it from the third grade up; we know what to do in arithmetic from the first grade up—it is well defined. But for years we have been wondering what to do with history. The teachers are willing to do what you say; they are not specialists, as they are in the secondary schools; an elementary teacher has to be a very miscellaneous-minded person. She is teachable and is easily led.

A few years ago the committee of eight gave us some plans, and I should say that there has been no greater evidence of the interest in history, in our country, than is evident in our country school system. We still need more light. When Prof Johnson says that we want continuity, we are willing to have continuity in the elementary grades. We should be glad to have him lay out a plan for the teaching of history in the first three grades, something like the plan adopted by the Horace Mann School in the Teachers' College, and

this could go out over the country. It is not only necessary for the private schools, but it is necessary for the public schools. I am not considering the secondary schools right now; but we should be very glad to follow a plan and come back with our evidence for discussion at the joint meeting of elementary teachers and historians, and I think we would have very good results. But there must be definite standards, set up for the grade teacher, just as there are definite standards in other branches, such as English. We know whether the sentence idea should be taught in the first grade, whether there should be the recognition of a period as punctuation; do we know definitely whether the third grade should have at least 10 facts in history? Probably the facts would not be stated, but a statement should be made to the effect that pupils should have 10 facts in history, that the child shall have come in contact with at least the primary sources, that the child shall have come in contact with at least four evidences, four phases of historical evidence, shall have seen several relics, something of that kind. Can it be made as definite as that? It has got to be if the foundation for historical-mindedness is to be made in the elementary school; and according to Prof. Foster the elementary school has got to lay the foundation. They want the secondary free to do the special things; so we have got it all to do in the elementary. The matter of standard is one that I should like to leave with you this morning. It will not meet the situation just to lay down the cycles, you must lay down definitely the historical facts, the historical events that you want the children in the first and second and third grades to know, and I think it can be as definite as that; and the textbooks that are placed in the hands of the teachers must be well worked out. The textbooks have got to be improved very, very much before history teaching can be improved.

MISS BELCHER. I was in absolute sympathy with every word that Prof. Johnson said. We all deeply regret the resignation of the chairman of this committee; it will be a great loss. I was also in sympathy with the remarks of Prof. Tryon. I have felt that the secondary school teacher has been in a quandary; we have been under some pressure to accept the educational, psychological study, and it has been a question whether we should accept it or not. I feel that the American Historical Association should be the leader, should assume the leadership, and I wish to follow that association because it seemed to me that the committee of history teachers spoke with more authority than the educational association. That is the stand I have taken so far, but it is difficult to keep that stand unless the American Historical Association explains the definite stand which must be taken. I think this association has more authority, because we represent the two sides of the question; we are

not only historians, but also educators; we represent both points of view. The other committee has some of the historical profession, but has also other members who have nothing to do with history; they are school superintendents and administrators. I think Prof. Tryon is right; we ought to get together and work in sympathy; there should be no antagonism, because the evidence points very strongly to the fact that the different committees are following the guidance and mandates laid upon the other committee of school superintendents and school commissioners. We must have something definite to follow, and the report of the committee of seven did furnish some sort of a plan; did bring order out of chaos. I should prefer to get along with that, modified, until we can have something of equal authority, something authoritative from this same association. We have individual schemes, and I think the committee should continue its work without creating more disorder at the present time. Personally I should be heartily in favor of this committee being continued and getting to work with great enthusiasm and scholarship to give us something definite. Otherwise we shall be forced to some other leadership.

DR. KNOWLTON. At the risk of being considered an opportunist, it would seem to me that the next step is rather a matter of defining the field already marked out by the committee of seven and by such committees as have worked over the fields of history. I heartily sympathize with the remarks of Prof. Foster. It seems to me that in working out the definition by topic, with some idea of the content of the topic, we should be ready, probably within two or three years, to take the step which has been suggested here as the possible next step, that is, a continuous course. A continuous course—that is the point. Let us take what we have and make a logical course. I would like to see such a logical course mapped out along the lines suggested by Prof. Johnson, with that kind of a theme; but I am thinking of the practical side of the problem, and I know that the conditions in the high schools where we have together three or four teachers, make it hard to get them to work toward a definite goal. If it is a hard thing to get three or four teachers to cooperate with the head in a single school, to work over the same ground and with the same aims, how much more difficult when we have to consider the schools of the entire country or the schools of an entire State. It seems to me that this is the line of least resistance. Let us do something. There is nothing that needs sound teaching more than history, and we need it now more than ever. Can we not within a year or two define a certain field; we have already made some plans; we have a basis to work upon; and I think we should map out a program, a continuous program, running from the first grade on to the last grade of the high-school course. That is where I stand, and I

feel that my convictions have been reinforced by the clarifying discussion of the morning. I was rather inclined to believe with Prof. Johnson that the first step was a course system; but I feel I have been switched around; I think the matter has been forced upon this association and we must face it, as has been suggested by two or three speakers. The elements are already mapped out. In the block system we must determine the points that we are to lead up to, the points that would appeal to the student when first taking up the subject. It seems to me that the coming textbooks for the elementary and secondary school should be encouraged to make their first chapters a good deal easier than the last chapters. It seems to me that most textbooks are too continuous; they tell the story in too uniform a manner. The textbooks on other subjects start in with the easy, elementary work in the first chapter and then gradually lead up to the more advanced work. The third point I should like to make is the question of having the longest course first in the high school; the course from primitive man to 1715 seems to me much more difficult than the next course, the next two centuries, of European history. It is very difficult for the young person to cover that vast extent of time. It seems contrary to the idea of taking up the more elementary and easier portion of the subject first.

MISS EVANS. Has this body the power to act or are we simply to discuss this? I should like to know if we could crystalize some of this discussion and draft some resolution which could be given to the council of this association as the fruits of what we have been talking about; otherwise they may not be present and may not realize the points that have been brought out to-day. I was personally very much interested in Dr. Tryon's suggestion of seeking from the council the continuation of this work by securing a grant of money and the paid service of a secretary in order that the work might not fall too heavily upon people already overburdened; such work always falls upon the people who are most overburdened with other things.

Perhaps we could get Dr. Johnson to do the directing. I should like Dr. Tyron to offer a resolution which might, if it suits this body, be passed on to the council, asking that Prof. Johnson be persuaded to help the committee in an advisory capacity, and that sufficient funds be subscribed to carry on the work. We are going to lose a year or two by losing the direction of the work—that is without doubt—and all of these discussions to-day have shown the great need for some sort of crystallization. As a member of the committee of the National Education Association, I was interested to see that we are not taken seriously, that our recommendations are unorthodox because they are not stamped with the approval of the American Historical Association. I expected that; but I also noticed,

Miss Belcher, that orthodox historians are being somewhat influenced by that report although we were branded as sociologists and failed to put over an historical program without the backing of the American Historical Association. We need either one of two things; either Mr. Knowlton's idea of this morning of defining the field, the ideas he has just voiced, or his idea of last night of having a continuous course in history. We want something done. Why wait a year or two years and then perhaps meet the same conditions? If Mr. Tryon, who suggested the idea, would present a resolution which could be passed on to the council, so this committee might be continued without burdening Prof. Johnson, but might have his advice, I think we might be able to accomplish results.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not a body capable of taking action, but it is an indisputable right of any body of Americans to offer and pass resolutions.

Prof. DUTCHER. There is some information which I judge has not been put in general circulation, that a committee was appointed consisting of six secondary teachers and five college teachers of history, to define, as several have suggested here this morning, the different existing fields as outlined by the committee of seven, or later modified by the committee of five, so that the teachers who are trying to prepare students to meet the college entrance examination may have a uniform method to follow in giving their instruction; and it is the purpose of the college examination board to have this report in the course of the present college year, and it is intended to make that work simply a matter of simple expedience. There has been no attempt to encroach upon the field of Prof. Johnson. The committee has taken pains to acquaint itself with Prof. Johnson's work and the necessary relation of the work of the two committees.

The CHAIRMAN. It is now a little after half past 12 and I think we shall have to close this meeting in a few moments; but the Chair will recognize those on the floor.

Mr. CALDWELL. I have felt in the discussion that there must be a reactionary cause; there has been so much stress laid on a program of a diversified character. I have felt from my experience and from my own study the impossibility of expecting too much from boys and girls in the way of covering a wide ground, and particularly in the way of philosophizing. The college entrance board on examinations and the committee on definition of standards have just been mentioned, and that is, it seems to me, more important almost than the laying down of a program, because the college entrance board in past examinations has required from students of history a standard of knowledge that not 1 out of 10 of the average school students could attain. It seems to me that we ought to hold clearly in mind that

girls and boys up to the age of college students have limitations. We can not expect large acquirements of definite facts along the lines of history. We can suggest the general principles and establish those in our minds, but the actual relation of those principles must come in later years from the contemplation of facts which they have acquired in school, and I think we ought to satisfy ourselves with that knowledge and recognize that general principle in any program which we may formulate for the study of history in the schools.

Mr. HARDING. I have been very much interested in the discussions this morning from several points of view. I am interested in the work of the committee, and I should like to say as a member of the council of the association that certain arguments advanced this morning are very essential, and that they ought most assuredly to receive the attention of the council. But there are difficulties with which perhaps all of the members of the association are not familiar. This is a lean year, a very lean year, and the association is suffering from a lack of means. The committee was greatly handicapped last year owing to the illness of Prof. Johnson, which prevented his personal direction, and it was also handicapped by the lack of funds. During the present year, I regret to state, the lack of means still continues. I think I shall not be guilty of divulging secrets if I say that the association is faced with a considerable deficit. Now, I do not know that I shall continue on the committee during the coming year. I can not speak for the other members of the committee, but I shall be glad, at my own expense, to give wherever it is needed; and in regard to the problems that face us it occurs to me that the matter first of all is the matter of definition of the field of which Prof. Foster has just spoken. The committee has the benefit of a considerable number of individual attempts at such definition, and those attempts, that material, ought not to be lost. All that is needed is a certain amount of coordination of combinations and publications, and inasmuch as the commission or the committee of the college entrance board is already at the task, it seems to me that the work might be turned over to that body; the material collected by our committee might be given to the college entrance board as the definition of the content of the existing needs. We are passing through an extremely critical period, and there is no question that an important study will have to be made; the program will have to be modified. That, it seems to me, is the function which the American Historical Association might assume. The committee might be continued and offered these suggestions. In reference to a resolution being adopted, I hope you will consider the resources which will be available for the continuation of this work. I suggest a continuation of the work and also a division of the labor.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sorry to have to close this extraordinarily interesting discussion.

Miss EVANS. May we not act upon some resolution?

The CHAIRMAN. That right is still yours.

Dr. TRYON. Miss Evans has suggested that I present a resolution. I would not care to do so. Dr. Harding has attended our session and I feel sure that if there is any possible way to get any money or anything from the council, Prof. Harding will present it to the council and get all that we could get through a resolution of this kind. I am personally willing to trust the entire matter to Prof. Harding.

Prof. FOSTER. May I suggest that we do not fully understand the financial standing of the association, and we had better leave this matter to the council which has all information in its hands.

The CHAIRMAN. This discussion has been most interesting to me, and it has been extraordinarily interesting in point of view of the failure of all discussers to take up points that I thought might be made the subject of rather heated discussion here, for example, the question of the relation of history to patriotism. The position taken by Prof. Johnson and Mr. Wolfson seems to have aroused no dissent upon the question of interpreting history of the past by the motive of the present; there seems to have been no dissent. Perhaps I have phrased that unfortunately. The position taken by Prof. Johnson, and perhaps suggested by one or two others, was that the past should be interpreted by the motive that induced the action of the past. There seems to be no dissent from that position. Those two points, I thought, would meet with a great deal of discussion, and the fact that they have not seems to imply that we have reached a consensus of opinion on that proposition, and that the points advanced by Prof. Johnson meet with our approval. The meeting stands adjourned.

VI. THE EDITORIAL FUNCTION IN UNITED STATES HISTORY.

By WORTHINGTON C. FORD,
President of the American Historical Association.

THE EDITORIAL FUNCTION IN UNITED STATES HISTORY.¹

By WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

The long line of my abler predecessors in office has given expression to many views and convictions. There are definitions of history, the application of historical principles, the interpretation of periods or of events, and experiment in forecasting the future in terms of the past. Scholar, publicist, and public servant have expressed their beliefs, outlined their hopes, and even intimated their disappointments in historical language. After such a series of treatments the field has been so well gleaned as to leave little yet to be garnered. If, therefore, I say a word for an historical agency on which almost no words have been spent, my apology must cover at once the poverty of the subject and the comparatively low rank of the agency. I refer to the editor of original sources of history, the ginning or picking machine which deals with the raw material, the first stage toward the warp and woof of historical writing.

Let us start with something definite. "Was it you," wrote an Englishman to Joseph Jefferson, the actor, "or was it your grandfather who wrote the Declaration of Independence?" The inquirer and the question are always with us and one of the objects of writing and teaching history is to make both harmless, if not impossible. And the lowest round of the ladder of accomplishment is the editor. He assumes the existence of the anxious inquirer, he seeks to measure his wants, and he frames the answer on such a plane as to hit the average degree of ignorance. "Ignorance," wrote Emerson in his journal, "is but an appetite which God made us to gratify." The editor is a source of information and a measure of quantity suited to a dose. A physician selects his remedies on case practice on a range of experience which has eliminated every factor of doubt but the personal equation of the subject. The giver of information has few rules based on experience for his guidance, and has a double personal equation to meet—that of his subject and that of his questioner. No wonder the failures are many.

The art is comparatively new, for it arose out of myth and fable and is still painfully groping toward truth. Evolutionists tell us that the development of moral concepts has been as gradual and

¹ Presidential address, reprinted from *American Historical Review*, XXIII, 273-286.

certain as the development of physical characteristics, and some would lay down a rule of thumb to show how the ideas of truth, right, and justice have been evolved from moral nescience. What would the writer of history not give for such a standard or measure! The pleasure and the relief of being able to determine thus almost mechanically the degree of faith to be given to this or that relator; the delight of placing him in his proper stage of development and the mastery of purpose which would follow—what boons to the plodding reader who must rest his story upon what others, of another time and place, have related. The strata of dependence thus defined would mean a scientific test for reliability, something far beyond the existing method of setting relator against relator and accepting the mean as truth.

Three centuries ago, before there was a wide public to be gulled, the little circle of readers was given on the death of a great man a volume of his testament or parting advice. The contents had just enough verisimilitude to be accepted in part, and the advice was wholly interested. The practice common in its day on the Continent of Europe easily slipped into the later form of memoirs, and from the memoirs came biography. To pass upon the career of a public man immediately after his death involves no light task. The secretarial writer, of which Boswell is such a shining example, may be truthful and interesting; but if he is sincere and loyal he will not lightly relate what may tell against his employer. That appeal to prurient curiosity which finds a market in sensation has been framed in many ways and still attracts support. A Pepys holds up a personal mirror with the reflecting surface toward himself, and unconsciously gives material for judging others and his own times such as no serious-minded historian could give and such as no writer on Pepys's period can neglect. The little has become the important.

The United States has not been rich in self-written history, nor is the little it possesses of startling moment. An explanation offered by some declares the lack of real interest in American history. However rich in pictures and incidents it does not present flashes and explosions of overwhelming importance. Another explanation is that its people have been too occupied in opening territory to settlement and development to expend much energy on recording and explaining the course of events, much less the participation in the struggle where the overscrupulous were doomed to defeat. A third would say that a democracy is against good history, for it means a slow vulgarizing of the best. No such explanations will account for the absence of those willing and able to relate their own careers after their own point of view. Their names should be legion. The foreign visitor, in the rawest period of our growth,

has not failed in picturesque, even lurid contrast, and has not found us inarticulate on ourselves or bashful of suggesting our merits. If the tone has been one of bluster rather than of philosophic analysis, it is genuine and not assumed, even to the wincing at the reflection returned by the not too faultless mirror.

In colonial New England publicity in the religious experiences of members or would-be members of the churches was exacted. If printed they take rank with the confessions of condemned criminals just reprieved, interesting not for their content, but for the state of mind and surroundings they show. They constitute a necessary item in the social history of the time, a crude form of the third degree, by which it was hoped a corner of the curtain of the soul, the token of immortal man, would be raised. The diaries, chiefly kept in interleaved almanacs by the ministers, were never intended for the public eye, and rarely rise above the level of a record of church ministration, with items of farm and household of a singularly bald nature. Once in a great while some one has the itch of putting all his thoughts and feelings on paper, and in seeking to imitate St. Augustine in frankness and scope, presents the most repellent features of religious ecstasism. Sainthood and martyrdom are able to endure that form of exhibition; but the atmosphere of early New England lacks in the quality which makes martyrdom picturesque; and this self-immolation to dogma long since passed away leaves the reader cold, even in a critical frame of mind. Did the situation of soul really demand this suffering? Is it not the symptom of physical derangement so easily mistaken for a divine afflatus? Of the sincerity of the sufferer there need be no doubt; but for permanent effect the acting is a little overdone.

Whence comes this expansiveness which often mounts to the grotesque; this tendency to publicity of thought and action? It is not English, for that people avoid exhibitions of feeling lest they make themselves ridiculous. It is not French, for they have a better sense of finish and proportion. It is not Scottish, for they are too canny to waste even emotion without some definite return. The Irish have a humor that saves them from ridicule, though it does not endow them with the needed balance wheel of wisdom. The sentiment of Germany overruns proper bounds, but is not reflected in the leading examples of American self-written biography. The American expression is peculiar, a proper accompaniment of a territory almost without limits. Virgin land at settlement, it had a strong influence on those who came to it. Its symbol is a screaming eagle, and who would blame an eagle for screaming in boundless space? Every American claims the right of free utterance. As a child he has used it, as a man he has abused it, the only restraint being a wholesome fear of the law of libel or an appeal to the

medieval and murderous law of honor. Even this right of utterance is quite modern.

Censorship of the press, one stage in the development, is an historical survival, and in English-speaking countries (except Ireland) is merely of historical importance. Liberty "to know, to utter and to argue" Milton placed above all other liberties; but so long as it could be interpreted by an autocratic ruler, by virtue of an undefined general prerogative, the liberty existed only in name. Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* made it punishable by death to speak against the ruling power, and by one of those strange sequences of events he was himself brought to trial for countenancing the pretensions of a nun who was charged with treasonable language. Freedom came slowly, and such was the effect of the supervision of the press that under the Restoration the newspaper press was practically reduced to the *London Gazette*—an official and inspired organ. In two centuries and a half such interferences have been abolished. While Great Britain has, after its fashion, never rested the freedom of the press on law but on its unwritten constitution, the United States have glorified in its recognition in their bills of right, an essential part of their constitutions. The price paid is a confusion of tongues, a multiplicity of opinion which produces indigestion, and an absence of standards which permits the glorification of the seamy and the sordid as freely as of the great and the admirable. Laudation of self and institutions is justified by accomplishment, and if it is pitched in too high a key is excusable by its honesty.

One compensation may be found in this discordant circle of self-praise, filial praise, and disciple praise. The note is unharmonious even in development. There has not long existed a studied combination singing praises of one man or one policy; at no time do we trace that blind sacrifice of opinion which marks the devoted adherent to faction, to party, to church, or to State. There has been no suggestion of general interference by the State to impose upon the people a single interpretation of policy outside of law. The opposition has been as free as the supporters of government, and the third or independent party, or the silent independent voter, tends to correct such an overwhelming drift as could be interpreted as an unrestricted mandate from the people to their representatives, or from the Government to the people. Except in great crises the American conception of liberty of speech has been maintained, and in the severe crises, as Rhodes says of the War of Secession, the great principles of liberty have not been invalidated by the exercise of extraordinary powers, although the arbitrary exercise of those powers were to be condemned. Even against the Government the citizen can invoke the protection of the courts.

Self-editing finds expression in autobiography, and the one great example of American autobiography is that of Franklin, written, be it remembered, late in life and never finished. Unable to live his life over again in fact he took the nearest to it, to make a recollection of that life as durable as possible by putting it down in writing. And he gratified his vanity in so doing, believing that vanity is "often productive of good to the possessor, and to others that are within his sphere of action; and therefore, in many cases, it would not be altogether absurd if a man were to thank God for his vanity among the other comforts of life." The entire relation is redolent of a studied frankness that lulls the reader into a forgetfulness of much in Franklin's career that a moralist would dwell upon. I almost fancy that Cotton Mather would have been pleased to preach the last sermon heard by the condemned Benjamin Franklin. And the circumstance would have been possible, for Franklin was born in 1706 and Mather lived until 1728. The autobiography was first published in 1817 and could occasion no serious controversy; but the papers printed with the autobiography by the grandson did arouse comment on both sides of the ocean, more for what had been omitted than for what had been included. The question of an interference by the British Government is not one which need delay us in passing. That Government and that people have not shown strong inclinations to edit their expressions on America and its history, least of all at the time the Franklin volumes appeared. Jefferson intimated that William Temple Franklin may have been "an accomplice in the parricide of the memory of his immortal grandfather," but the result of the publication gave proof of the incapacity of the grandson. There is not a line of Franklin's writings which could not have seen the light in 1817 with as little injury to his reputation as in 1917.

An earlier and the earliest printed autobiography after the War for Independence appeared in 1798. Maj. Gen. William Heath took us into his confidence in the form of a journal of events compiled after his active service was past, and published, it has been charged, before its intended time, to promote an election to office. Fully acquainted by his studies, as he believed, "with the theory of war in all its branches and duties, from the private soldier to the commander in chief," he wrote sometimes as a private and sometimes as generalissimo. He was the preacher of preparedness from 1770, and like most such preachers was lacking in action. A trusted lieutenant he attained rank without distinction, and grew corpulent in inaction and performance. "Our general," as he pleases to call himself, a term reported to have been applied to him by Bernard in one of his prophetic moments, printed his book, which was greeted by smiles on

all sides. It was impossible to misinterpret such a delightful piece of vanity. Its historical value shrinks before its personal quality.

Gradually an interest in personal history was awakened. In biography Marshall's *Life of Washington* was easily first to challenge attention. It was based upon original documents; it appeared at a time when the power of the Federalists had been shattered, and their shrewdest opponent was in full possession of the executive. Did Marshall intend to raise a monument to Washington or to the Federalist Party? It was good history, good politics, and good biography for the time, yet the neglect into which it has fallen is due more to the writer than to what he used of the subject. Fourteen years later, in 1818, Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry*, necessarily largely based on tradition, carried into biography the oratorical flowers of Independence Day, and succeeded so far as to make its transplanted garden a desert place in comparison to a later and saner cultivation. It is something to have manufactured a good book, yet an example that is to be avoided—otherwise the sense of relation would be weakened. Virginia still held the field for a period. In 1825 the life and correspondence of Richard Henry Lee and in 1829 that of Arthur Lee were given out by a grandson of the former. They were defensive, colored by deliberate but mistaken purpose. Both compilations showed how good material could be wasted in an effort to prepare a brief in a cause of secondary importance.

The first compilation of Jefferson's letters, by his grandson Thomas Jefferson Randolph, appeared in 1830. Monroe and Madison, the closest intimates to Jefferson after his presidency, were still living, not to mention some of the opposition whose feelings might be touched. They knew some years in advance that this work was in preparation, yet neither attempted to interfere or to control what should be inserted. Randolph possessed the courage of his necessities, for on the last pages of the last volume he printed the *Anas*, that body of comment which is so characteristic of the Jefferson epos. Yet he did not let stand the criticism of Washington or the word which made John Marshall the mountebank of the X Y Z mission, and he omitted more than half of the record as of lesser importance. Jefferson's opinions invited dissension, and the publication of the volumes led to an exchange of epithets that enlivened, even if it did not much enlighten, the history and practice of politics. Having gone as far as he did, Randolph need have omitted no part of the record. Those who disliked Jefferson were convinced of the soundness of their dislike; those who practised politics as a profession busily engaged themselves in constructing that Jeffersonian myth which still persists and, judiciously used, has exerted a constant effect in hypnotizing the wavering voter.

These lights of the War for Independence used language unrestrained by a fear of publication. They lived in the day of a newspaper which seems singularly harmless for attack. The party scribblers of low character might dip their pens in venom; the very excess of their invective discounted and the small circulation deadened its force. When Callender turned upon Jefferson, his benefactor, he was obliged to set up a sheet of his own, and the few copies in existence are eloquent on his poverty and incapacity. In the respectable press the discussion of men and measures rarely rose above mediocrity, and mere personalities could not explain policies. Hamilton, one of the best controversialists of his time, might have repeated his letter to John Adams six times over, with six different objects, and had either the diary or letters of John Adams seen the light in his day, the pot of discord would have remained at boiling point. Both men in their own time experienced the effect of an untoward publication of confidential communications, and the experience embittered their later years. Hamilton's papers drifted for years looking for a biographer, and when at last in 1840 they were used by a son, his brothers openly expressed their disapprobation and regret on the event.

In this early period of personal relations the editor had no place. The member of the family sufficed. However marked a curiosity over a public character might exist, it did not extend to his writings. An early experiment (1810) of printing Hamilton's financial papers failed. With the current questions interest ceased, and newspaper discussion rarely dipped into past American history. Precedents and comparisons were drawn from Greece and Rome, not from colonial Britain. In the small number of instances where elaborate defense was deemed proper, it was the leading actor who performed the task—as in Monroe's defense of his French mission and in Edmund Randolph's Vindication. A pamphlet would cover the emergency; and it was prepared by an interested party. Yet in the first years the editor appears in a modest but efficient form, dealing with original sources and with some comprehension of the office he was to fulfill.

The earliest example is Ebenezer Hazard and his *Historical Collections*, printed by the author—a euphemism then as now, for printed at a loss—in 1792. Wait's *State Papers* (1815) were a forerunner of Force's *Archives*. As to the publication in 1819 of the *Acts and Proceedings of the Convention of 1787* by John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, as related in his *Memoirs*, he enlists the heartfelt sympathy of everyone who has dealt with original material as arranged by ambitious but badly equipped adventurers in history, or by pious hands directed by filial apprehension. These

early essays in printing sources were guided by the proper spirit. Without undue reverence for the written word, they followed the text without modification in language or in intention. Why should this attitude have undergone a change which for half a century persisted in mutilating the text and giving excuse for every vagary of statement?

'Tis woman that seduces all mankind;
By her we first were taught the wheedling arts.

And it was a Massachusetts woman who pointed out the way. Secretly Eliza Susan Quincy compiled a memoir of her grandfather, Josiah Quincy, the patriot, and when she had completed the task she induced her father, Josiah Quincy, to put his name on the title-page and thus assume responsibility for the dark deed. How she doctored the text—altering, omitting, and mutilating as seemed to her proper and best—has only recently become known. I will not say that she violated all the commandments of good editing, but she was remarkably successful in sinning against the great majority. This volume appeared in 1825, and the first volume of Sparks's Washington followed nine years later, so perfect an imitation of all the faults embodied in the Quincy publication that collusion might be assumed without the excuse of family reticence.

I wish to be just to Mr. Sparks. Admit that he designed and carried into execution large undertakings, and a series of 10 volumes is a large undertaking even now; admit his singleness of purpose and consistency of operation; is it harsh to say that his judgment is condemned by the necessity for going again over the ground he covered, not because of new material discovered or available since his day, but because of an unreliable text? The writings of Washington, Franklin, and Gouverneur Morris and the Diplomatic Correspondence which he edited—all have since been republished, and with patience, not from a few samples but from the many, may be discovered the manner in which Sparks misused his opportunity. His good fortune in being a pioneer in this form of compilation and his industry as an editor have placed his volumes on the shelves of every self-respecting library, public and private; yet his repute as an authority has been steadily falling.

Deliberate falsification can hardly be charged to these early practitioners in editing. They felt the presence of some who had participated in the events they were to describe. Why print anything unpleasant or unkind or partisan, or personal? Why expose the foibles of men looming big as historical characters? These contemporaries, wearied by perpetual party strife, were beyond a capacity to reply; they asked only to be permitted to close their lives in peace. Others were actually in office, honored by the free

choice of the electors or by the trust of those who held their office by election. Why raise disputes of the past, much and probably ignorantly discussed at the time, now the ashes of controversy? The supposed necessity of party supplied the newspapers with abuse of individuals, and the pamphlets of the day could match the newspapers in directness and scurrility of language. History and biography should rise to a higher level and in style attain to some merit. If it bordered on the ultrapatriotic, that was an excusable foible, for the men of the War of Independence then looked large, larger even than the principles for which they fought.

The influence of official relations must be held responsible for some serious blunders. When Congress assisted to publish Hamilton's works in 1850, it was the son who edited the material; the Jefferson, three years later, was intrusted to the librarian of the Department of State, and he took remarkable liberties with the text—inexcusable unless we accept the theory that political exigency rather than historical truth guided the undertaking. The dominance of the South made expedient suppression of some features, for the South had become sensitive to the growing antagonism to slavery and the increase in material power at the North. Even the foreign relations of the United States remained in good part unknown; the Executive could give out what it pleased and withhold information on the plea of prejudice to public interests. The Department of State harbors an unmeasured mass of historical material, and has used only what has seemed good to more or less well-informed officials in the past when weighing it in the scale of occasion. Diplomacy, even the open diplomacy of the United States, has had its high victims, and both Secretaries of State and agents stand as sacrifices offered to smooth over blunders or to quiet public clamor. What a field for judicious editing!

It may thus be said that the editor has been coming into his own, not rising in importance, but better recognized as a useful albeit somewhat erratic adjunct to the writing of history. The quality of product has improved, and the shadows of family or political doubt are less frequently encountered. Public archives have been made accessible, a generous freedom of use accorded by private owners of papers; and pride of ancestry has contributed its share to the ever increasing quantity of product. If only certain possessors of material could appreciate how far they are like the ostrich, and what damage their aloofness is working on their pet admirations! Imagine trying to prove anything against public morals on John Jay! Yet he has been fastened in a niche of the 1833 model, when reserve darkened reputations. I could name a number of such distorted models, still cramped under a silence that almost confesses guilt. Where

papers have been destroyed in the hope that criticism would be ended, the ghosts of old controversies arise and the worst or opposition phases of character are remembered. Descendants who have nestled in self-confidence and wrapped themselves in forgetfulness are pained and shocked to have the old gossip and tradition of their ancestors served up highly spiced in modern journalese. They have only themselves to blame.

For nearly a century after the Declaration of Independence both biography and editing of original materials had not attained success. They lisped, fearful of speaking aloud, and they avoided crucial matters of controversy. Was it this example which led to a series of political autobiographies in the last two generations? From Benjamin F. Butler to George F. Hoar and beyond—the mere writing of the names suggests startling comparisons of product. Was it a suspicion that they could not intrust their reputations to editors or to biographers which tempted them into a difficult adventure? Was it a desire to anticipate the opinion of contemporaries, and while yet living to taste the sweets of servile flattery? They chatter of many things, but are reticent on those most important to the historian. As appeals to a simple faith, and as childlike murmurings of unrelated facts they awaken wonder without gratifying a reasonable curiosity. To compile such works and then to destroy the original records, as if the last word had been said, is a crime against history, and a futile plea in abatement against further consideration. Yet most of those self-constituted apologists have been lawyers, and some of them good lawyers.

To approach such modern instances with due reverence is difficult. Conditions have altered, the standard of greatness has changed, and the demands as well as the responsibilities of biographer and editor are other than were accepted unquestioned a half century ago. History is better written, and the subject is attracting the best; but autobiography lags behind, good-naturedly accepted for its defects rather than for its virtues. The charm of literary autobiography persists, but the unreliability of political autobiography has come to be a by-word. To describe action directly and intention truthfully after the event appears to demand opposite qualities. *Magna pars fui*—the accent is on the *magna*, and the relator exaggerates his own importance while twisting his facts and misstating his motives.

Is it not a form of conceit, and a vulgar form at that, to suppose that the story of a life can be only self-written? Is man so little influenced by circumstances and so greatly molded by his own will that he can consciously assume to be master of his own fortunes? The self-made man is subject to attacks of assurance which awaken in him an anxiety to tell others how he accomplished it—it referring to any achievement from making a large fortune to writing a popu-

lar song. Success is the worst judge of itself, and some other tribunal should take cognizance and, if possible, commit such budding sprouts to safe quarters where they may interchange their confidences without making an undue exhibition of themselves. The thing is possible, for did not an Italian saint not only overcome the devil but make him confess all his sins?

The human machine is self-advertising, for its wants are imperative and its acts come for judgment before an immediate tribunal—public opinion. Is not, then, the desire of writing an autobiography a confession that some explanation of conduct is to say the least expedient? The atmosphere of publicity in which a public character of to-day moves gives to surrounding objects and relations a certain distortion. The distortion becomes natural to him, and he wonders why others do not accept him as unquestioningly as formerly, why they adopt a critical attitude with a tendency to open opposition. If he is pushed out from a public career, and gains time for reflection and self-examination, the injustice and unreasoning of his former constituency loom large and to him are based upon misconception. So he enters upon his defense, and tells the old story in the old way, with distorted vision and with vanished glamor. It requires a greatness of character to stand the test, and there are few great characters. The majority babble, retail half-truths and vamp the worn and patched shreds until they have encased themselves in nothing but their own too transparent self-consciousness, still not undisturbed by doubts. Seeking to invest themselves with a cloudlike splendor and halo as the reward for upright conduct, they retire into the smoke-shield of their own creation, to emerge streaked with smudge. As a mode of defense autobiography is a failure; it too often confirms the old saying, that a man who is his own lawyer has a fool for a client. The ghastly skull of St. Charles Borromeo looked out from its gorgeous trappings and surroundings, always a reminder of what he had been—a mortal; as ghastly figures stare from the written pages of autobiography, reminders that the mortal or weak parts dominated the whole, and left a record that is unchangeable.

To the biographer, not too closely related to his subject, and to the editor, belongs the task of telling the truth—not the simple or the whole truth, but as much as the records will afford. The writer of biography has the wider field, the better opportunity, for he may wander far and invoke the dramatic and the picturesque, even infusing into the relation a color of his own. His story may read like a romance, it may be a fairy tale, or it may be a verbal cenotaph wherein nothing of its subject may be found; it soon is weighed, judged, and ticketed for remembrance or oblivion.

An editor is restricted to the written record; the memories of oldest inhabitants and the tradition of generations have no attraction for him. His purpose is to give all that may be of service to our host of anxious inquirers and the ever-increasing number of writers of history, and to give it unvarnished, as the documents contain it. This is not to say that he will be unsympathetic. I defy anyone to live among the records of the past without absorbing some spirit kindred to that which actuated the men of that time. He sees through their eyes and reenacts their deeds with a wider vision and a knowledge of consequences not vouchsafed to them. Whatever reserve is imposed arises out of a sense of decency; all else may safely be left to the judgment of history. It is good to humanize Washington, to have the means of tracing the tortuous policy of Jefferson, to measure the ability and ambitions of Hamilton, to comprehend the rash but honest conduct of the Adamses, and to wonder at the little greatness of Monroe. We owe these to modern editors, and in no instance did they inflict injury upon good repute, nor did they greatly modify the great lines of historical writing. They supplied treasuries of fact from which incidents and characters may be written or newly written. To furnish the material in its full and unaltered shape—that is the achievement of the change which has come to editorial methods in a generation.

True perspective requires time and space, and neither historian nor editor can use material of the day in the hope of attaining finality. Yet both are in possession of a trained quality of which few journalists, few civil and military officials, can boast. A knowledge of what has gone before, of past events, a habit of analyzing character, of combining facts and weighing evidence, constitute an added sense in seeking some solid foundation in the welter of to-day. They have tested the politicians' position. They know that from the very beginning of history the country has been in a chronic state of crisis, requiring the election of this or that man to office, demanding sacrifices which constitute the stock claim of the politician to reward; that the years are strewn with such sacrifices, and that the number of pretended and willing saviors of the country would fill several Valhallas. They know that family, censors, and state are futile against time and that no cause has been without its evil features which can not be forgotten and ought not to be suppressed. They know that no human agency can belie the character for which the man himself is responsible. The inevitableness of history lies before them in too many examples to be neglected. The editor deals with individuals; the historian with generals. The cultivation of a balanced and nonpartisan spirit and utterance, no small accomplishment, brings its reward in confidence and clarity of vision.

What is the application of this excursion? For three years the country has been under a stress which has tested its people and its Government. In the mass of interested discussion and propaganda, licit and illicit, it has been difficult not to take a position and express the faith that is in us. Even before actual participation in the war necessary information was wanting. Of partial statements the number was and is in excess, but it may be doubted if the fullest exposure of motives and performance will much change general opinion. The extremist is beyond change, and among these extremists on both sides are some historians. Their honesty of conviction is not to be questioned, but their violence of expression is to be regretted. Exaggeration in language is not confined to the newspaper. The time is not yet come for a final weighing of evidence, for we are living, as in the England of the Restoration, under a "Royal Gazette." Cables and mails are under a censorship which tends to become more rigid; discussion of governmental policy and execution is under a threatened interference by officials, who are wanting in experience and are fallible and extremely sensitive to currents of public opinion; and American public opinion is subject to strange excitements, fitful and explosive. But unless a man sells his soul he can be heard and answered, or left to the certainties of time. It is all very well to speak of the sober second thought of the people; the first thought may not be sober and may inflict great injury, and in war times the first thought is explosive. How long has it been since our writers of textbooks on history consented to modify their denunciation of Great Britain? How many years have allowed the war with Mexico to pose as a shocking example of greed and broken faith? The word "rebel" as applied to the South is a survival; the bitterness has slowly turned into sweetness, and the glory of honorable conflict is shared between the two sections. Much of what parades as history to-day will fortunately sink into the forgetfulness of the future, to be exhumed at times as curious examples of misdirected energy and ill-exercised thought. What remains, clarified of its partisanship, may serve for real history. It will be two generations before the full publication of documents can begin, and then will be applied the tests of fair judgment. In the meanwhile we should adopt the editorial attitude, keeping our minds open, and exercising the same patience and restraint under wrongs and violations of good faith and comity of nations as have placed our country with an unsoiled record at the front of a world movement.

VII. EARLY ASSESSMENTS FOR PAPAL TAXATION OF
ENGLISH CLERICAL INCOMES.

By WILLIAM E. LUNT.

EARLY ASSESSMENTS FOR PAPAL TAXATION OF ENGLISH CLERICAL INCOMES.¹

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The first papal income tax was imposed in 1199.² when Innocent III ordered the clergy to pay a fortieth of their yearly revenues³ to aid the Holy Land.⁴ The assessment and collection of the tax were intrusted to the bishops, in order, as Innocent III explained later,⁵ to disarm the suspicion of those who, like Ralph of Diceto, feared that "unless by chance the Romans should renounce the cupidity natural and innate in them, it [i. e., the money] would never be delivered in full to those for whose use it was sought."⁶ The bishops of each province were directed to meet at an early date for discussion of the mandate and immediately thereafter to hold diocesan synods.⁷ Here each clerk was to declare the value of his income. Then, within three months, he was to deliver the fortieth at some designated place within the diocese, where the act could be attested by the bishop, some monks, and some laymen. Those who fulfilled these conditions honestly would receive a rebate of a quarter of their enjoined penances; those who contemplated disobedience were reminded of the account that must be rendered at the final day of judgment.⁸

How these rules for the assessment may have worked it is difficult to imagine, since they leave so many details of the procedure in

¹ The editions of all chronicles cited are those issued under the direction of the master of the rolls unless otherwise noted.

² A Polish chronicler of the fifteenth century speaks of a tenth levied on the Polish clergy by a papal legate in 1188 and 1189. Gottlob (*Die päpstlichen Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 18-22) discards his evidence as worthless, but Cartellieri (*Philipp II*, August, II, 74, n. 1) thinks further investigation is necessary before final judgment is passed.

³ "Quadragesimam partem omnium ecclesiasticorum reddituum et proventuum."

⁴ A copy of the papal decree addressed to all prelates is dated 27 December: Roger of Hoveden, IV, 108-112; another addressed to the archbishop of Magdeburg and his suffragans, 31 December: Migne, *Patrologia*, CCXIV, 828-832. Portions of the copy addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans are given by Ralph of Coggeshall, pp. 113-116. The provisions are explained by Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 21-23, 170-176. The pope and the cardinals paid a tenth and certain religious orders a fiftieth.

⁵ Luchaire, *Innocent III, la Question d'Orient*, pp. 10, 11.

⁶ II, 169. See also Luchaire, *Innocent III, la Papauté et l'Empire*, p. 271.

⁷ The exempt clergy were ordered to attend these synods, Migne, *Patrologia*, CCXIV, 835, 867.

⁸ "Sub interminatione divini iudicii districtè præcipimus"—"sub divini iudicii obtestatione mandamus."

obscurity. The contributor did not have to testify to the extent of his income under oath, and there is no indication that a falsehood would be punished in this world. The bishop and his assistants appear to have had no authority to revise the estimates submitted. They witnessed the delivery of the money, but their instructions do not provide for any verification of the accuracy of the sums rendered. In some measure the rules guard against the possible elasticity of the taxpayer's conscience. The valuation had to be announced in the diocesan synod, where too great a discrepancy between the professed and the actual income might arouse comment. But such deterrent effect upon dishonesty as publicity may have been expected to exert was probably weakened by the hostility of the clergy to the tax. The French clergy for a time openly refused to submit,⁹ and, though there is no record of similar action in England, nevertheless the English clergy did not assume the burden readily. In 1201 payments were still being made,¹⁰ and the Pope thought it expedient to renew his orders to the English bishops.¹¹ Indeed, one obstacle to efficient administration was the sympathy of the bishops with the taxpayers.¹² Innocent III, despite his disclaimer, does not appear to have trusted fully to their good faith, for early in 1200 a papal nuncio, Master Philip, the notary, arrived in England¹³ to superintend, to some extent, the collection of the fortieth.¹⁴

Records of the sums paid by individuals, which might afford a basis for comparisons with the actual incomes, or with later valuations, are lacking.¹⁵ In fact, it is doubtful if any itemized accounts were kept by the collectors, since the pope required a report only of the total sum realized in each diocese.¹⁶ Perhaps it may be a reasonably safe conclusion that the decentralized administration, the lack of any official supervision of the estimates, and the absence of any mundane penalty for dishonesty would be likely to result in much undervaluation by members of a body opposed in principle to the tax.

The next papal demand upon the incomes of the clergy came from the fourth council of the Lateran held in 1215. There the assembled fathers, under the guidance of Innocent III, drew up the most de-

⁹ Luchaire, Innocent III, *la Question d'Orient*, p. 9.

¹⁰ Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, III, 167; Liebermann, *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen*, p. 140: Registers of Walter Brounscome and Peter Quivil, ed. Hingston-Randolph, p. 293.

¹¹ 5 May, 1201, Roger of Hoveden, IV, 166, 167.

¹² Luchaire, Innocent III, *la Question d'Orient*, p. 8.

¹³ *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 61.

¹⁴ Ralph of Diceto, II, 168, 169.

¹⁵ The valuation of the income of Bury St. Edmunds, which is assigned to 1200 by a contributor to the *Victoria History of the County of Suffolk* (II, 57), is a copy of the valuation of 1291. The scribe wrote "*anno domini M^oCC^o*" and neglected to finish the date: British Museum, Harl. Ms. 633, fo. 223.

¹⁶ Roger of Hoveden, IV, 110.

tailed constitution on the subject of the crusade yet promulgated.¹⁷ It provided among other things for the compulsory payment by the clergy of a twentieth of their incomes for three years.¹⁸ The execution of the decree was left to the pope, with the provision that any who failed to observe its terms would be excommunicated. With regard to the method of assessment the decree is silent. Its provisions, however, display in general a more centralized administrative plan than that employed in 1199,¹⁹ and from the registers of Honorius III we learn that the papacy kept a closer control over the disposal of the proceeds.²⁰ We should expect such developments to carry with them an improved method of valuation. The direct evidence on this point is meager and unsatisfactory.

Innocent III began to make the arrangements necessary for the collection of the tax,²¹ but apparently they had not been completed at the time of his death,²² since the appointment of collectors was continued by Honorius III.²³ Unfortunately no copy of the original instructions issued to the collectors by either pope appears to be extant,²⁴ and our information of the mode of assessment is derived from a letter of Honorius III announcing to the prelates of the province of Gran the appointment of the collectors for that province.²⁵ According to its terms the execution of the conciliar constitution was given to the masters of the temple and the hospital and to the treasurer and cantor of the chapter of Gran. They were empowered to appoint as assistants two or more clerks, a templar, and a hospitaler. Each clerk subject to the impost was required to declare to the agent who came to him the amount of his twentieth reckoned on casual as well as fixed income. The penalty for fraud was excommunication. This machinery appears to have been better adapted to produce accurate estimates than that used before. The

¹⁷ Rocquain, *La Cour de Rome*, I, 420.

¹⁸ "Vigesimam partem ecclesiasticorum proventuum." The pope and cardinals, who paid a tenth, those who took the cross, and certain religious orders were granted exemption: Hardouin, *Acta Conciliorum*, VII, 74, 75; Ann. Cambriae, pp. 72, 73; Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, III, 343.

¹⁹ Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 176-85.

²⁰ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, pp. 111, 381; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungarum Sacram Illustrantia*, I, no. 8; Bliss, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, I, 74, 75; Potthast, *Regesta*, 5209, 6285.

²¹ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum*, p. 68, nos. 151, 152; Idem, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungarum*, I, no. 8.

²² 16 July, 1216.

²³ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungarum*, I, nos. 2, 8.

²⁴ Possibly there was a copy in the lost register of the last year of Innocent's pontificate, but none is found in the fragments which have been recovered. See Delisle, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XLVI, 91, 92; Rocquain, in *Journal des Savants*, 1873, p. 441; Hampe, in *Mittheilungen des Instituts für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXIII, 546, 547. Theiner (*Vetera Monumenta Slavorum*, no. 77) prints an inventory of a portion of this register made in the time of Innocent VI. and Hampe (in *Mittheilungen des Instituts*, XXIII, 550-67) edits some letters of the nineteenth year preserved in a formulary. See also Potthast, *Regesta*, I, pp. 439-60.

²⁵ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungarum*, I, no. 2.

heads of the knightly orders would ordinarily be more interested than the bishops to obtain as large a sum as possible for the Holy Land, while the threat of a concrete penalty would be likely to have a deterrent effect upon underestimation. The letter of Honorius III was encyclical²⁶ and probably kept the formulas used by Innocent III in the similar communication which he had addressed to the prelates of several provinces.²⁷ We ought to be able to feel comfortably certain that the system established in Hungary was applied without great change in England. Yet such scattered references as we find in English sources indicate the possibility of some variations.

For one thing the legate appears to have had charge of the business in England. The first papal instructions to the English collector, which I have found, were issued to Pandulph on 18 August, 1220.²⁸ But they merely urge him to diligence and order the disposal of the proceeds; they do not constitute the original commission. Pandulph had been engaged in the work earlier in 1220²⁹, and some assessments had been made in 1217.³⁰ Either of two hypotheses seems to be possible. Since others than the masters of the temple and the hospital were originally appointed collectors in some provinces,³¹ the first commission may have been issued to Gualo, who was sent to England as legate soon after the council of the Lateran³², and taken over by Pandulph when he succeeded Gualo as legate in 1218.³³ On the other hand, the masters of the temple and the hospital may have been commissioned originally in England, as in Hungary, and later subordinated to Pandulph or superseded by him. Early in 1219 Honorius III sent members of his immediate household to various parts of Europe to superintend the work of the local collectors,³⁴ and these appointments were part of his settled policy to remedy the defects which he had found inherent in a decentralized administration.³⁵ In view of the evidence so far discovered, I see no reason to regard one hypothesis with more favor than the other. As in Hun-

²⁶ Potthast, *Regesta*, 5362-65.

²⁷ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum*, p. 68, nos. 151, 152.

²⁸ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, no. 40. See Mengozzi, "Papa Onorio III e le sue Relazioni con l'Inghilterra," in *Notizie e Documenti di Storia Senese*, an extract from *Bulle Tino senese di Storia Patria*, XVIII (Siena, 1911), pp. 38, 39.

²⁹ Potthast, *Regesta*, 6285.

³⁰ Ann. de Dunstapla, p. 52. Payment of the tax is first mentioned under the year 1219 in Ann. de Theokesberia, p. 64; Ann. de Wigornia, p. 411.

³¹ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum*, p. 68, no. 252.

³² Norgate, *John Lackland*, pp. 264-68; Gasquet, *Henry the Third and the Church*, p. 24; H. Zimmermann, *Die päpstliche Legation in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, p. 46.

³³ Pandulph was appointed on 12 September and arrived in England early in December: Norgate, *The Minority of Henry the Third*, p. 111; Gasquet, *Henry the Third and the Church*, p. 44; Turner, in *Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc.*, N. S. XVIII, 290; Potthast, *Regesta*, 5905.

³⁴ *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XIX, 676. Pandulph was the papal camerarius, but none of the members of the papal household appointed in 1219 was a legate.

³⁵ Jordan, *De Mercatoribus Camerae Apostolicae*, p. 71.

gary, the principal English collectors were assisted by deputies selected from among the local clergy.³⁶ Another divergence appears, however, in the method of assessment. At the monastery of Dunstable the valuation was made in 1217 "*secundum communem aestimationem bonorum virorum*."³⁷ If it was the general practice in England thus to determine the liability of each taxpayer by the testimony of several witnesses, the valuation ought to have been more thorough than that made in Hungary. That such was the case is a plausible hypothesis,³⁸ since the supervision of a legate would be likely to produce better results, and since this mode of procedure was a well-established English custom. Yet the incident may be an isolated example of the way chosen by one monastic community to decide its own responsibility. I am inclined to think this the more probable explanation. The papal mandate to the clergy of the province of Gran indicates that the collectors were to play a passive part and accept without question the valuations offered by the contributors. The sentence of excommunication was self-executory and required no action on the part of the collectors to put it in motion.

On the whole, it seems probable that this assessment was an improvement over the first, although the paucity of evidence makes it rash to assert that there was a significant advance in administrative technique.³⁹ Nevertheless, the second valuation constitutes a landmark in the history of the taxation of clerical incomes. The results were entered upon rolls kept by the collectors,⁴⁰ and this valuation was the first preserved in written form.⁴¹ In 1226 the valuation was used for the assessment of a sixteenth granted to the king by the clergy.⁴² Subsequently it became the invariable practice to levy royal taxes upon the spiritual revenues of the clergy according to the apportionment fixed under the direction of papal agents for some tax previously levied by the pope.

The third assessment of English clerical revenues for papal taxation was made in 1229.⁴³ Gregory IX found it so difficult to finance his war against Frederick II that in 1228 he invoked the "*plenitudo potestatis*" for the first time to compel the clergy to contribute to the

³⁶ *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, II, 70, n. 1.

³⁷ *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, p. 52.

³⁸ Graham suggests that this method was generally employed: *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXIII, 438.

³⁹ Compare Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, p. 220.

⁴⁰ *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, II, 70, n. 1.

⁴¹ Gottlob believes that the valuation of 1229 is the oldest: *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, p. 221. He seems to have been misled by a statement made in the chronicle called *Flores Historiarum*, II, 207, 208.

⁴² *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, II, 64, 67, 69; *Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, 1225-1232, p. 64; *Ann. de Oseneia*, pp. 67, 68.

⁴³ *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, p. 114; *Ann. de Burton*, pp. 364, 365; Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, IV, 202. According to a letter issued by Stephen, the collection began in 1228, but the "*anno secundo*" of the date obviously should be "*anno tertio*": *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, II, 149, 150.

papal needs.⁴⁴ He ordered the clergy of the province of Canterbury to deliver the tenth of their annual revenues to his chaplain, Stephen of Anagni,⁴⁵ who had been acting as collector of the papal dues in England since late in 1227.⁴⁶ He informed them that he had made his intentions more fully known to Stephen and enjoined them to pay their shares without delay at the times fixed by him.⁴⁷ In case any doubt should arise about the exact meaning of the phrase "*decimam omnium reddituum et proventuum vestrorum*," they were to accept the interpretation of the collector under pain of the sentence customarily meted out to rebels.⁴⁸ Stephen's commission authorized him to excommunicate taxpayers guilty of fraud. He was directed to make the valuation with the aid of competent and trustworthy deputies, whom he should bind to the faithful performance of their duties by oath or in any other manner which seemed to him expedient.⁴⁹

His deputies in each diocese were empowered to summon the archdeacons, the rural deans, the rectors, and any others whose presence they desired, to come before the bishop.⁵⁰ They could compel the clergy, when assembled, to disclose under oath the number of churches in each rural deanery and the value of each church. They were to allow the bishop to substitute for a sworn declaration his personal manifest based on the evidence of his officials, stewards, and other servants who would have knowledge of the facts. In the cathedral church

⁴⁴ Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 69-71; Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II*, II, 41.

⁴⁵ 20 December, 1228: *Vetus Registrum Sarisberliense*, II, 144-46. The same mandate, "*etsi naturali sit*," with many variations, was addressed to the clergy of Milan on 22 November: *Registes de Grégoire IX*, 251. For the provinces required to pay this tenth see Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II*, II, 41, n. 2.

⁴⁶ His royal safe conduct was issued 22 October, 1227 (*Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, 1225-1232, p. 150). His commission as general collector of papal dues is dated 23 December, 1228 (*Vetus Registrum Sarisberliense*, II, 146), but he was acting in this capacity earlier, since he received payment on 21 February, 1228, of the royal tribute due to the papacy (*P. R. O., Liberate Roll, Chancery*, no. 7, m. 8). The annalist of St. Paul's (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.*, XXVIII, 548) notes his coming under the year 1228. Roger of Wendover (*ed. Coxe*, IV, 198) and the annalist of Dunstable (p. 114) place his arrival in 1229, and they have been followed by Luard, *On the Relations between England and Rome*, pp. 51, 52, and Gasquet, *Henry III and the Church*, p. 125.

⁴⁷ "*Cum pro tuendo*," 28 December, 1228: *Vetus Registrum Sarisberliense*, II, 148.

⁴⁸ "*Cum ad exigendas*," 30 December, 1228: *ibid.*, II, 147.

⁴⁹ "*Cum ad exigendas*," 17 December, 1228: *ibid.*, II, 147.

⁵⁰ Concerning the activities of the deputies we possess fairly full information. The executive letters which Stephen issued to the two assistants whom he assigned to the dioceses of Salisbury and Worcester were transcribed and preserved by the dean and chapter of Salisbury: *Vetus Registrum Sarisberliense*, II, 149-52. Roger of Wendover (*ed. Coxe*, IV, 200-203) follows the tenor of these letters fairly closely in his narrative, and several of the many other chroniclers who give less detailed accounts supply additional particulars: *Flores Historiarum*, II, 206, 207; *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, pp. 114, 115, 125; *Ann. de Theokesberia*, pp. 73, 77; *Ann. de Wigornia*, p. 421; *Ann. de Wintonia*, p. 85; *Ann. de Osenela*, p. 70; *Ann. de Burton*, pp. 245, 364, 365; "*Ann. de Southwark*," *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.*, XXVII, 431, 432; *Chron. Petroburgense*, *ed. Stapleton*, p. 10; *Chron. Abbatiae de Evesham*, p. 274; *Cont. of Gervase of Canterbury*, II, 128; *Chronicle of Abingdon*, Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 993, ad annum 1229; *Chronicle of Peterborough*, Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough, Swaffham Cartulary, fo. 3.

they could require three or more members of the chapter to give sworn testimony to the value of the goods of the whole community, and in each monastery as many members of the convent as they desired. The assessors were authorized further to excommunicate any who should give false evidence or commit fraud, and to excommunicate, suspend from office, or place under interdict those who should oppose them in the discharge of their duties. The collector reserved to himself the right to depose defrauders from their benefices and to reserve for papal provision benefices thus voided.

The oath required from the clergy summoned to appear before the assessors explains exactly what information was demanded. "We swear," reads the formula, " * * * to assess such a church faithfully and completely, namely, the benefices of the parson and the vicar, the pension, and anything which the chaplains and clerks appointed to the service of the church receive, not according to the valuation made for the twentieth, but according to whatever assessment can be made in a better way and more productively, and without fraud or deceit, or any abatement, to declare and to reduce to writing and to deliver to Masters B. and S. [i. e., the assessors], or to him whom they delegate, the full truth concerning all rents, revenues, crops, oblations, tithes, increase and fruits of animals, and all incidental receipts which in any way belong to us or to the church by whatever name they may be called,⁵¹ no expenses or debts having been deducted under any circumstances. Moreover, if any one ventures to hinder the said valuation by threats, blandishments, promises, or alarms, we will obtain from the said masters his ecclesiastical censure; and we swear to observe this without fraud, guile, or evil intent."

This procedure was far better designed to secure true estimates of taxable property than any previously tried by the papacy. This time the papal agents had the initiative, they could compel the taxpayers to reveal their incomes under oath, and they could enforce their authority with adequate penalties. The deputies were bound to the general collector by oath, and Stephen, in the one instance recorded, selected as deputies members of his own and the papal households, whose interests would tend to be with the administrative service and not with the taxpayers. The papal camera could check the work of the collector and his assistants by inspection of the written accounts which they were required to keep. The process of centralization, which began apparently under Honorius III, was completed in all its essential outlines in 1229.⁵² For the remainder of the thirteenth century the papacy followed the fundamental prin-

⁵¹ An explanation of these terms is given by Gottlob Kreuzzugs-Steuern, pp. 206-8.

⁵² Gottlob ascribes this centralization to the time of Innocent IV, but he seems to be unaware of the documents preserved in the register of Salisbury: Kreuzzugs-Steuern, pp. 185, 186.

ciples of assessment established in 1229, although there were many subsequent improvements in their detailed application.

Testimony is not lacking that the valuation increased notably the burden upon the taxpayers. None of the chroniclers gives definite comparisons, but several voice forcibly the outraged sensibilities of the clergy. The annalist of Waverley, whose house was exempt, contented himself with the observation that the nuncio caused the tenth to be collected "very severely,"⁵³ but others did not hesitate to accuse the pope of extortion.⁵⁴ The most vigorous protest came from the historian of St. Albans, as was apt to be the case when papal taxation was concerned. "For he [i. e., Stephen]," says Roger, "was such an unjust exactor in the execution of this business that he compelled each to pay to him the value of the tenth even from the crops of the next autumn, which were still growing in the blade. The prelates, indeed, having no other resource, sold some of the chalices, goblets, reliquaries, and other sacred utensils of the altar and placed others in pawn at interest. The land is filled with continuous though secret maledictions and with universal prayers that such an exaction may never be of benefit to the extortioners."⁵⁵

Gregory IX⁵⁶ did not again attempt to utilize this source of revenue until 1238⁵⁷ when he was organizing relief for the hard-pressed Latin kingdom of Constantinople.⁵⁸ On November 24 he

⁵³ Ann. de Waverleia, p. 305.

⁵⁴ Ann. de Theokesberia, p. 73.

⁵⁵ Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, pp. 202, 203. See also Flores Historiarum, II, 207, 208.

⁵⁶ The history of the valuations for papal taxes on incomes levied between 1229 and 1254 is exceedingly difficult to piece together. The evidence is so fragmentary and so confused that no historian yet has succeeded even in the mere correct enumeration of the papal taxes paid during the period. The following instances of confusion on the part of secondary writers may be cited by way of illustration: Gasquet, *Henry the Third and the Church*, pp. 179, 240-269; Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation under John and Henry III*, pp. 264, 267; Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, pp. 139-43; Richardson, *The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III*, pp. 89-104; Prothero, *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 74-80; Tout, *History of England from the Accession of Henry III*, pp. 58-60; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, 4th ed., II, 70; Ramsay, *The Dawn of the Constitution*, pp. 111-115; Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 34, 35, 67, 72; Weber, *Ueber das Verhältniss Englands zu Rom*, p. 99.

⁵⁷ Two chroniclers record the levy of a tenth during the interval. Internal evidence indicates that the writer of *Flores Historiarum* (II, 207) misplaced the tenth of 1229. The other chronicler probably did the same thing. In a set of annals found in the register of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, commonly called the Red Book (Brit. Mus., Cottonian MS., Julius D. II, fo. 20), under the year 1234, appears the entry: "A tenth part of all the goods of the whole English church is given to the pope." In this compilation the numerical dates are often wrong, but the dominical letters are right. Richard's death, for example, is located under 1205, but the dominical letter is that of 1199 (Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials*, III, p. 75). The tenth of 1229 seems to have been misdated by five years in a similar way. No other chronicler mentions a tax in this year, nor is there record of any among the papal letters. On 4 September, 1234, however, the pope requested the clergy and various communities of England to provide armed warriors equipped with funds for their expenses for the aid of the Holy Land (Potthast, *Regesta*, 9525), and nuncios came to England empowered to collect alms for the same purpose (Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, III, 279-88). The second entry may be due to the confusion of these alms with a tax.

⁵⁸ Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, pp. 305-13; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, 4205-19.

addressed letters to the Kings of England and France, requesting them to seek the assent of their bishops to the payment by their clerical subjects of a thirtieth of their incomes for three years.⁵⁹ He suggested craftily that they deal with the prelates individually and secretly, and speak first with those who were their closest friends.⁶⁰ A year later Gregory offered the proceeds arising in England from this and several other sources to Richard of Cornwall to provide for the expenses of his projected expedition to the Holy Land.⁶¹ What action was taken by the bishops in answer to the papal request I have not discovered; but, if there was any, it was probably unfavorable. In 1244, Richard of Cornwall, who had meanwhile fulfilled magnificently his promise of a crusade,⁶² acknowledged the receipt from the bishop of Salisbury of a portion of the papal concession. He specifies the revenues whence the sum was derived, but among them does not mention the thirtieth.⁶³ His silence is not conclusive, but it renders probable the supposition that the tax was not granted by the clergy.⁶⁴

It is not unlikely that Gregory IX ceased to insist upon the grant of the thirtieth for Constantinople because of his desire to tax the clergy on his own account. In 1239 the renewal of war with the Emperor plunged him heavily into debt,⁶⁵ and to satisfy his creditors he ordered the clergy of France and of the British Isles to provide him with a subsidy.⁶⁶ The tax has left such scant trace in written rec-

⁵⁹ "Tricesima reddituum suorum."

⁶⁰ Registres de Grégoire IX, 4605, 4607, 4609, 4610, 4615, 4618; Raynaldus, Ann., 1238, secs. 23, 24; Bliss, Calendar, I, 177.

⁶¹ 23 November, 1239: Registres de Grégoire IX, 4965; Bliss, Calendar, I, 185.

⁶² Röhricht, in Forschungen zum Deutschen Geschichte, XXVI, 67-102.

⁶³ Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, IV, box A, 1.

⁶⁴ The silence of Matthew Paris is also significant, since he rarely lost an opportunity to inveigh against the pecuniary demands of the pope: Plehn, *Mattheus Parisiensis*, pp. 102-6; Smith, *Church and State*, pp. 174-78; Luard, introduction to vol. III of *Chronica Majora*, p. xi. Gasquet (*Henry the Third and the Church*, p. 179) and Mitchell (*Studies in Taxation*, p. 264) confuse the thirtieth with the aid sought by Gregory IX in 1239 for the war against Frederick II. I have found no mention of the tax in French chronicles.

⁶⁵ Nicholas de Curbio in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, III, 592b.

⁶⁶ The letters are not to be found in the extant registers or in Potthast's *Regesta*. They were published in England by the legate, Otho, at the council of Reading held in 1240 (Matthew Paris, IV, 9-11), but I have not found the exact date of that assembly. The decree was known to Henry III before 22 February, 1240 (*Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1237-1242*, pp. 175, 176). A papal letter, addressed to the bishop of Palestrina, papal legate in France, dated 10 January, 1240, refers to the aid in France as already ordered (Registres de Grégoire IX, 5067), and it seems probable that the original mandate was issued about the time of the appointment of the legate, namely, on 21 October, 1239 (Teulet, *Layettes*, II, 2835; Zimmermann, *Die päpstliche Légation*, pp. 112-14).

That the papal letters were in the form of a mandate is evident from one of the objections offered by the English bishops and archdeacons against the imposition of the tax: "Dicunt quod contribuere non debent * * * tum, quia fieret contra libertatem ecclesiae, quod patet ex forma ejusdem scripti (i. e., apostolici) ubi dicitur, *contradicentes ecclesiastica censura compescentes*"; Matthew Paris, IV, 37. The annalist of Tewkesbury (p. 115) says: "Omnes et singuli clerici contradixerunt, ne consentirent in contributionem ad mandatum domini Papae."

ords that its very nature is now obscure.⁶⁷ The papal mandate has been lost, and we have to rely chiefly on the descriptions of chroniclers, who seem to have had an aversion to exact statement when dealing with taxes.⁶⁸ Without doubt foreign clerks beneficed in England were asked to give a fifth of their incomes.⁶⁹ The native clergy were divided into two classes. The prelates apparently made individual agreements with the legate to pay lump sums,⁷⁰ bearing no definite proportional relation to their incomes.⁷¹ The lower clergy paid a fractional portion of their yearly incomes, varying in rate from one diocese to another.⁷² I have found no indication of the mode of assessment desired by the pope, or of the practice actually followed; but I doubt if it could have been worth the effort to make a new valuation which would have omitted the great wealth of the prelates.

Innocent IV, who had to meet fiscal obligations contracted by Gregory IX,⁷³ turned to the English clergy for aid at once. Early in 1244 he dispatched to England his cameral clerk, Master Martin,⁷⁴ whom Matthew Paris has rendered notorious.⁷⁵ He sought from the English clergy an aid of 10,000 marks. The demand was opposed, and Martin was forced to leave the country in 1245 without the desired concession.⁷⁶ But the pope did not give up his quest. At

⁶⁷ The amount of confusion existing may be ascertained by a comparison of the following secondary accounts: Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II, 70; Tout, *History of England*, p. 58; Gasquet, *Henry the Third and the Church*, pp. 179-88; Ramsay, *Dawn*, pp. 92, 93; Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 34, 35, 72, 73; Weber, *Ueber das Verhältniss*, pp. 98-120; Mitchell, *Studies*, pp. 264, 265.

⁶⁸ *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, pp. 154, 155; *Ann. de Wigornia*, p. 432; *Ann. de Burton*, pp. 257, 366; *Ann. de Theokesberia*, pp. 115, 116; *Ann. de Wintonia*, p. 88; "*Ann. de Southwark*," *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.*, XXVII, 432; Chron. *Petrobургense*, ed. Stapleton, p. 14; *Hist. et Cart. Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae*, I, 28; Matthew Paris, IV, 9-11, 15, 35-43, 60.

⁶⁹ *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1237-1242*, pp. 175, 176; *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, p. 154; "*Ann. de Southwark*," *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.*, XXVII, 432; *Ann. de Theokesberia*, p. 115. Matthew Paris (IV, 9, 10, 15, 35) displays his usual prolixity and confusion. He speaks in one place of a fifth of the goods and revenues of the foreigners beneficed in England, and in another of a fifth part of the goods of the English prelates.

⁷⁰ *Ann. de Burton*, p. 366; *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, p. 154; Matthew Paris, IV, 15, 35.

⁷¹ *Dunstaple*, for example, paid either 40 or 60 marks for the tenth of 1229, and 20 marks for the aid of 1240; Burton paid £24 14s. 2d. and £20; Tewkesbury, 109 marks and 50 marks; the priory of Worcester, 30 marks and 120 marks: *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, pp. 115, 125, 154; *Ann. de Burton*, pp. 365, 366; *Ann. de Theokesberia*, pp. 77, 116; *Ann. de Wigornia*, pp. 422, 432.

⁷² *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, I, 403; *Idem, Reports on the MSS. of Wells Cathedral*, pp. 175, 176; Matthew Paris, IV, 38-43; *Registres d'Innocent IV*, 1862.

⁷³ Nicholas de Curbio in Muratori, III, 592 β .

⁷⁴ I have not found Martin's commission. On 7 October, 1243, he was sent on papal business to Viterbo: *Registres d'Innocent IV*, 167; Potthast, *Regesta*, 11153. On 7 January, 1244, the pope addressed letters, of which Martin was to be the bearer, to the abbots and convents of the diocese of Canterbury: Matthew Paris, IV, 369, 370. His commission was probably issued about the same time.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 284, 285, 358, 368-76, 379, 391, 402, 416, 418, 420-22.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 362-76, 420, 421; *Ann. de Dunstaplia*, pp. 166, 167; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1232-1247*, p. 463; Prynne, *An Exact Chronological Vindication*, II, 618, 634; Sweetman, *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, I, 2746, 2757; P. R. O., *Close Rolls, 29 Henry III*, m. 9 v.

the council of Lyons, held in 1245, he persuaded six English bishops to attempt the assessment and collection of the aid previously sought by Martin, which was now stated to be 6,000 marks.⁷⁷ Since the aid was called a twentieth by contemporaries,⁷⁸ it was without much doubt a tax on incomes.⁷⁹ The collectors apportioned it in accordance with arrangements made by Martin before his departure.⁸⁰ Since he could not have made a new assessment for a tax which the clergy refused to grant, presumably he was prepared to use an old one. In all probability it was the valuation of 1229. The papal camera, in which Martin was a clerk, had a copy of this valuation,⁸¹ and, unless a new appraisement was made in 1239 or 1240, it was the most recent and consequently the most likely to have been used. There is, moreover, some reason to believe that 6,000 marks was the yield of a twentieth assessed upon the valuation of 1229.⁸²

Meanwhile the council of Lyons had commanded the payment by all the clergy of a twentieth of their incomes for three years in aid of the Holy Land⁸³ and the payment by certain classes of the nonresident clergy of a fractional portion of their incomes, varying from a twentieth to a half, in aid of the Latin kingdom of Constantinople.⁸⁴ The decree aroused from the English clergy prolonged opposition and repeated protests, which received the hearty support of Henry

⁷⁷ An undated papal letter quoted in a letter of the bishop of Norwich, dated 24 March, 1246: Matthew Paris, IV, 555-57. Potthast (Regesta, 11611) dates it between 1 January and 23 March, 1245, but it probably was issued late in 1245 or early in 1246. In his letter the pope states that he has received no reply to his earlier letter written to the six bishops after their return from his presence. Since at least four of the six bishops had attended the council of Lyons (Huillard-Bréholles in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XXI, ii, 271; Ann. de Wintonia, p. 90; Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1232-1247, p. 453), the earlier letter was probably written after 17 July, 1245, when the council had its last session ("Brevis Nota," Mon. Germ. Hist. Const., II, pp. 515, 516). The letter cited above was sent after the allowance of an interval sufficient for the receipt of a reply to the first letter.

⁷⁸ Matthew Paris, IV, 584; Cont. of Gervase of Canterbury, II, 202; Chronicle of Glastonbury, Bodleian Library, Laud MS., 750, fo. 4.

⁷⁹ Mitchell (Studies, p. 267) says "the tax was not based on an assessed value of clerical revenues," but he produces no evidence to substantiate the assertion.

⁸⁰ Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, p. 341.

⁸¹ Flores Historiarum, II, 207, 208.

⁸² The annalist of Dunstable (p. 186) calls an aid of 6,000 marks levied in 1253 a twentieth. The part of this sum levied on spiritualities was assessed on the valuation of 1299 (below, p. 279), but this tax was paid by the clergy of the Province of Canterbury alone, while the aid of 1246 was paid by the clergy of all England. The annalist of Tewkesbury (pp. 150, 151), however, thought that the levy in 1253 applied to all England, and the annalist of Dunstable may have had a similar misconception.

⁸³ Hardouin, *Acta Conciliorum*, VII, 392-95. The decree repeats nearly verbatim that of the fourth council of the Lateran, and the same classes are exempted from the tax.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 390, 391; Ann. de Burton, pp. 276-78. Contemporary chroniclers generally describe these taxes inaccurately. See, for example, Matthew Paris, IV, 580; "Annales Stadenses," Mon. Germ. Hist. Script., XVI, 369. Secondary writers treat the tax carelessly with the exception of Berger and Dehio: Ramsay, *Dawn*, pp. 111-18; Mitchell, *Studies*, pp. 266, 267; Gasquet, *Henry the Third and the Church*, pp. 241, 253, 254, 263-69; Gottlob, *Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, pp. 48-52, 66, 67, 75-7; Prothero, *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 77, 78; Smith, *Church and State*, pp. 139, 143; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II, 70; Berger, introduction to vol. II of *Registres d'Innocent IV*, pp. cxxxiv-clxi; Dehio, *Innocenz IV und England*, pp. 30, 31, 38-42.

III.⁸⁵ The last word of Innocent IV on the subject, given on 12 June 1247, was to the effect that these taxes had been imposed universally by a general council and could not be remitted.⁸⁶ The subsequent course of events affords abundant opportunity for speculation, but it has left no trace in the series of documents which record the earlier history of these taxes. The collection of the subvention for Constantinople had begun.⁸⁷ Whether it continued and whether the twentieth for the Holy Land was levied at all are open questions.⁸⁸ The silence of the chroniclers may mean that the taxes were never paid. It may equally well mean that Henry III and the clergy gave way before the papal insistence as they had so often done before. A successful resistance would have been an event so exceptional in character that contemporaries would have been as likely to notice it as to notice another of the postponed acquiescences so habitual in this period. The silence of the registers of Innocent IV is more significant,⁸⁹ since they contain many letters, issued after 12 June, 1247, concerned with the levy of these taxes in other lands.⁹⁰ Whether the pope intended to have a new assessment for these taxes does not appear in the evidence at our disposal, but if the taxes were not levied, as seems probable, it is also probable that no new valuation was made.

In 1247 Innocent IV again appealed to the English clergy for an aid to meet his personal needs.⁹¹ The exempt clergy agreed to pay lump sums, fixed by individual negotiations with the papal commissioner,⁹² and the remainder of the clergy to contribute 11,000 marks.⁹³ This sum was apportioned among the clergy according to the assessment of 1229.⁹⁴

⁸⁵ Matthew Paris, IV, 473, 518-22, 526, 560, 581-85, 590, 594-97.

⁸⁶ Rymer, Foedera, I, 266. The letter is erroneously dated 1246 by the editor.

⁸⁷ Bliss, Calendar, I, 232.

⁸⁸ Berger (introduction to vol. II of *Registres d'Innocent IV*, p. cxli) asserts that the collection of the twentieth had also begun, but I have found no evidence of it. He concludes, however, that we can not determine whether the taxes were levied in England or not. Gottlob (*Kreuzzugs-Steuern*, p. 67) decides that they were levied and Dehio (*Innocenz IV und England*, p. 41) that they were not. Other modern historians assume that the taxes were levied, but they offer no proof, or supply evidence which relates to the papal aids and not to the subsidies for the Holy Land and Constantinople.

⁸⁹ I refer to the extant printed registers, which, I assume, include all those known to exist.

⁹⁰ *Registres d'Innocent IV*, 3055, 3057, 3058, 3065, 3383, 3384, 3432, 3438-40, 3450, 3451, 3459, 3468, 3488, 3545, 3551, 3719, 3755, 3979, 4120, 4166, 4238, 4292. See also the references given in Berger's introduction to vol. II, pp. cxxxix-cxli.

⁹¹ Matthew Paris, IV, 599; VI, 119, 120, 144, 145.

⁹² *Idem*, IV, 599, 600, 617-23.

⁹³ *Idem*, VI, 144, 145. The sum probably represented a tenth with the incomes of the exempt clergy omitted.

⁹⁴ Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterburgh*, p. 307. In addition to this aid, Italians having benefices or pensions in England were required to pay a fourth of their annual incomes, if their incomes were less than 100 marks, and a half, if their incomes were more than 100 marks; *Registres d'Innocent IV*, 2997, 3025. The many Italians who farmed their benefices paid their quotas on the sums actually received from the farmers: *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, I, 85; II, 558. What mode of assessment was used in other cases does not appear.

Before the valuation of Norwich in 1254 the clergy of the province of Canterbury paid one more aid to the pope. On this occasion the clergy took the initiative and the aid was offered in return for papal privileges granted at their request.⁹⁵ The collectors were appointed by the pope, with instructions to distribute the burden among the contributors in proportion to their respective faculties.⁹⁶ They ordered their agents to fix the value of the temporal goods of religious houses by estimation and the value of churches and ecclesiastical benefices "*secundum taxationem antiquam*." Both were to be ascertained by inquisition.⁹⁷ The work was done during the autumn of 1252.⁹⁸

Two aspects of this valuation are of especial significance. The first is the use of the "*antiqua taxatio*." The phrase could have been used loosely to denote any old valuation, but collectors giving instructions to their agents must have intended to designate a specific valuation. Since the valuation of 1229 had been employed to assess the aid of 1247, it was the only one which could have been described in 1252 as "*antiqua*" without danger of confusion. The second noteworthy aspect is the different procedure with regard to the temporalities. They were not assessed like the churches at the values assigned to them in 1229, but at values estimated in 1252.⁹⁹ The reason for the distinction is not made apparent in the instructions of the collectors, but two explanations may be suggested. It is possible that the returns from temporal goods had increased in value so much more rapidly than those from churches and benefices, that a new valuation was deemed advisable for the one and not for the other. Since the sources of both kinds of income were mainly of the same economic nature,¹⁰⁰ this does not seem probable. It is a more plausible supposition that the temporalities had not been assessed in 1229. The directions given to the assessors in 1229,¹⁰¹ and such fragments of the valuation as we now possess¹⁰² do not conflict with this hypothesis; and Wykes's description of the valuation as "*antiqua beneficiorum taxatio*"¹⁰³ assumes significance in this connection. It seems probable that the valuation of 1229 was confined to those classes of clerical income later known as spiritualities.

This survey of the subject has necessarily been brief; it has been sufficiently thorough, perhaps, to demonstrate that the evidence is

⁹⁵ Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, II, 563; Matthew Paris, V, 225; Ann. de Burton, pp. 300-3.

⁹⁶ Matthew Paris, VI, 213-15.

⁹⁷ Ibid., VI, 213-17.

⁹⁸ Ibid.; Ann. de Theokesberia. p. 150.

⁹⁹ Matthew Paris, VI, 215, 216.

¹⁰⁰ Hudson, The "Norwich Taxation" of 1254, p. 46 (reprinted from Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, vol. XVIII).

¹⁰¹ Above, pp. 272, 273.

¹⁰² British Museum, Cottonian MS., Tiberius B II, fo 235.

¹⁰³ P. 225.

for the most part too fragmentary to admit other than tentative conclusions. Apparently the three valuations of 1201, 1217,¹⁰⁴ and 1229 were the only assessments of English clerical incomes made for papal taxation previous to 1254. They probably included only the spiritualities and did not extend to the temporalities.¹⁰⁵ The last of the three was the most thorough; it furnished the precedents for the methods followed in later valuations; it probably was used for the assessment of all papal taxes imposed upon the incomes of the English clergy between 1229 and 1254; and it was probably called "*antiqua taxatio*" before the valuation of Norwich acquired that appellation.

¹⁰⁴ These seem to be the dates when the valuations ordered respectively in 1199 and 1215 were taken in England: Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, III, 167; Ann. de Dunstaplia, p. 52.

¹⁰⁵ The temporalities probably would not have been omitted in 1229 if they had been included earlier. When the attempt was made to extend the valuation of Norwich to their temporalities, the clergy offered a strenuous opposition on the ground that *ecclesiastical* revenues, upon which the tax was ordered to be levied, did not include the profits derived from their lay tenements: Matthew Paris V, 524-7, 553; Ann. de Burton, p. 361; Rymer, Foedera, I, 280, 342, 345, 346; Theiner, Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum, p. 57; Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1247-1258, p. 396; P. R. O., Patent Rolls, 53 Henry III, m. 23 v. The three earlier assessments had applied to ecclesiastical revenues, and if they had included the temporalities of the clergy the contention made in 1254 would have lacked force.

VIII. THE ASSESSMENT OF LAY SUBSIDIES, 1290-1332.

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THE ASSESSMENT OF LAY SUBSIDIES, 1290-1332.

By JAMES F. WILLARD.

The dates selected as the limits of this paper, 1290 to 1332 inclusive, mark important stages in the history of the taxes upon personal property or movable goods. In 1290 the exchequer was placed in charge of all the transactions having to do with these subsidies.¹ Henceforth it watched over their assessment and collection, received directly or indirectly all the money gathered by the collectors and kept a record of the partial and final accounts rendered by the same collectors. The change was therefore administrative in character. The later date, 1332, is that of the last tax of the type that was developed under Henry III, and levied so frequently under Edward I and his immediate successors. The methods of assessment and collection used for the next subsidy, that of 1334, were, in answer to charges of corrupt practice in the levy of the subsidy of 1332, especially devised to insure a just valuation of movables. The crisis passed, there was no return to the older way of doing things. A fifteenth and tenth, after 1334, meant something quite different from what it had ever meant before.

During the years from 1290 to 1332, taxes were levied upon the personal property of the nation sixteen times.² In every instance they were granted either originally or finally by a properly constituted national assembly. The grant took one of two forms: It was either a uniform proportion of the value of the personal property of all parts of the population, such as a thirtieth, a fifteenth or a tenth, or it recognized the economic and political distinctions between the rural districts and the boroughs, and imposed different rates upon each. Whenever there was a double rating, such as an eleventh and seventh, or a fifteenth and tenth, the men of the cities, boroughs and ancient demesne paid the higher rate, and the men living in the rural districts, the lower. The first plan, or uniform rating, was used five times during the period; the second, or double rating, eleven times.

¹ The evidence of the changes that took place in 1290 and the following years is to be found on the receipt rolls, issue rolls, and memoranda of the exchequer. It is the purpose of the present writer to describe these changes at some time in the near future.

² See my papers in the *English Historical Review*, XXVIII, 517-521; XXIX, 317-321; XXX, 69-74.

After the grant had been made groups of commissioners, usually called chief taxers, were appointed to oversee the assessment and collection of the subsidy.³ Such chief taxers were assigned to all parts of England, with the exception of the palatinates of Chester and Durham. The normal procedure was to select two men, though three and even four were at times appointed, for each county. There are a few exceptions to this rule. In 1316, for the tax levied upon the movables in the cities and boroughs, there are a number of examples of the appointment of one group of chief taxers to act in two counties. The same year furnishes the only example of the assignment of two groups of chief taxers to the same district—one to take charge of the urban, the other of the rural assessment and collection. Chief taxers were sent to each of the ridings of Yorkshire, and after 1313 to the parts of Lincolnshire. London, York several times, and Lincoln once, were treated as separate districts.

The men appointed to act as commissioners were usually laymen and men of affairs. In 1295, on the other hand, of the two chief taxers assigned to each county or part of a county, one was an ecclesiastic and one a knight. Most of the men appointed were residents of the districts to which they were sent and had there or elsewhere served the government in various capacities. Many had been or were at the time of the grant county members of Parliament. A rather large proportion had the additional qualification of experience. For seven subsidies of the eight levied from 1306 to 1322 about 41 per cent. of all the chief taxers had served at least once before in a like capacity.⁴ The proportion was not so high either before or after that time.

With the writs of appointment issued to the chief taxers, in which they were told to assess and collect the subsidy and when to answer for it at the exchequer, were sent their instructions concerning the manner of making the assessment and collection.⁵ These were known as the form of the taxation and were written in French in

³ Palgrave, *Parliamentary Writs*, I, 24 (1290), 27 (1294), 45-46 (1295), 51 (1296), 63-64 (1297), 106-108 (1301), 178-179 (1306); *ibid.*, II, ii, 14-15 (1307), 38-39 (1309), 116-17, 119 (1313), 163-164, 167-168 (1316), 211-212 (1319), 278-279 (1322). The writs for 1290 and the names of the chief taxers are found on K. R. Memoranda Roll, No. 64 (19 Edward I), mm. 5, 6; those for 1296 on K. R. Memoranda Roll, No. 71 (25 Edward I), mm. 87, 88; and those for 1315 on L. T. R. Originalia Roll, No. 73 (8 Edward II), mm. 29, 30. The writs for the two subsidies of the reign of Edward III are found in Rotuli Parliamentorum, II, 425-426 (1327), 447-448 (1332). For purposes of convenient consultation, I add the following references to the calendars of patent rolls: C. P. R., 1292-1301, 103-104 (1294), 170-172 (1295), 611-613 (1301); *ibid.*, 1301-1307, 456-457 (1306); *ibid.*, 1307-1313, 22-24 (1307), 183-186 (1309); *ibid.*, 1313-1317, 49-51 (1313), 473-475 (1316); *ibid.*, 1317-1321, 347-349 (1319); *ibid.*, 1321-1324, 224-225 (1322); *ibid.*, 1327-1330, 172-173 (1327); *ibid.*, 1330-1334, 357-358 (1332).

⁴ The subsidies were those granted in 1306, 1307, 1309, 1313, 1316, 1319, 1322.

⁵ These instructions are usually placed with the writs sent to the chief taxers by Palgrave, and on this account no separate list of references is necessary here. Convenient summaries of the instructions are to be found in Vincent, *Lancashire Lay Subsidies*, I.

contrast to the Latin of the writs. In the nature of things it would be too much to expect the instructions to be followed with absolute fidelity by any group of human beings. So after the letter of the forms has been described an attempt will be made to discover how closely it was followed in practice.

Throughout the entire period one fundamental principle was embodied in the instructions: The personal property of every individual was to be valued by men of his neighborhood. Two methods of attaining this result were used, the first set forth in the form of the taxation of 1290, used until 1296, and again in 1306; the second found in the form of 1297 and thereafter, with the exception of 1306.⁶ According to the plan of 1290, the chief taxers were to summon before them the best men of every hundred and from these they were to cause to be chosen twelve for each such district. The twelve, with the assistance of the reeve and four lawful men of each township, were to make a true valuation of the movable goods possessed by the people on a day named. The form of 1297 placed the responsibility for the assessment squarely upon the shoulders of men of the township, without the intervention of any intermediate jury for the hundred. The only variations after that date were in the method of selection and in the number of these subtaxers. In 1297 and 1301, the chief taxers were directed to cause to be chosen two to four men, more or less, who were to serve as assessors in the vills. In 1307 and the ensuing years they were to summon before them the most lawful men of each borough, city, and vill and from these they were to select four to six or more men to act as subtaxers.⁷ There was a provision in the form of 1319, which was omitted from the subsequent instructions, that the ward, leet, or parish should be the administrative unit of taxation in the cities and boroughs.⁸

The evidence of the practical working of these systems is found on the rolls of the assessment, which will be described later. During the years when provision was made for the intermediate juries of twelve subtaxers the extant rolls usually show a close adherence to the instructions. There are some examples of a contrary practice. On the Sussex roll of the eleventh and seventh of 1295 the hundreds are frequently divided and juries of six named for each half.⁹ There are also instances of juries of nine, ten, and eleven for the full hundred.¹⁰ The Northumberland roll for the same subsidy names juries for vills and groups of vills in addition to juries for the ward, which

⁶ The instructions of 1290 are accurately summarized in Vincent, *op. cit.*, I, 177-178; those of 1297 are in Palgrave, *op. cit.*, I, 62-63.

⁷ Palgrave, *op. cit.*, II, II, 213.

⁸ Sussex Record Society, X, 18, 19, 29, 47, 49, etc.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, nine jurors, 4, 24; ten jurors, 28, 41, 43, 45; eleven jurors, 78.

is in that county equivalent to the hundred.¹¹ The plan of 1297 and 1301, which provided for two to four subtaxers, or more or less, if convenient, to serve in the vills, allowed for a very wide latitude in the number of these sworn assessors, but designated the vill as the unit. Yet on the few rolls that have been preserved two or more vills are found assigned to one group of subtaxers.¹²

The deviations from the instructions of 1307 and the following years seem even more striking than those mentioned, though this appearance may be due to the fact that a much greater number of the documents relating to the assessment have been preserved. Provision was made for four or six subtaxers, or more if desired, to serve in the cities, boroughs, and vills. There would, therefore, seem to be no official warrant for less than four subtaxers or for any other units than those named. Despite this, in county after county, there were usually two or three subtaxers assigned to one district. Four or five are also found at times. It was the same with the administrative units of taxation. In Hertfordshire, in 1322, two, three, four, and even six vills were joined, and there is one instance of the union of nine vills.¹³ Throughout Sussex in 1327 both the hundred and half hundred were used instead of the vills, but subtaxers were also assigned to groups of vills and even to single vills.¹⁴ The county roll of Berkshire for the same subsidy shows the use of single vills, groups of two, three, or four vills, and hundreds.¹⁵ In all parts of England it was the same—free manors, manors, hamlets, groups of vills, parishes, and hundreds were all substituted in different districts for the vill of the instructions. Local custom or local convenience would seem to have influenced the chief taxers to disregard the strict letter of the forms of the taxation. In the larger boroughs the ward or parish frequently served as a convenient unit for the purposes of assessment, while there was no subdivision of the smaller boroughs.¹⁶

The remaining details of the instructions, which have to do with the manner of making the assessment, were essentially the same throughout the period and, so far as can be discovered, were carefully observed by those persons whose duty it was to put them into practice. Once selected, the local assessors, whether of the hundred or township, were placed under oath to value the personal property of the people which they had in their possession on a

¹¹ Exchequer Lay Subsidy, 14^a.

¹² E. g., Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, XVI; Exchequer Lay Subsidies, 4^a, 5^a (Bedfordshire), 13^a, 14^a (Lincolnshire). Compare the remarks on the jurors in Northumberland in 1297 in *Archæologia Aeliana*, 3d series, XIII, 200–201.

¹³ Exchequer Lay Subsidy, 14^a.

¹⁴ Sussex Record Society, X, 109–222, *passim*.

¹⁵ Exchequer Lay Subsidy, 14^a. For additional examples of variations, see Exchequer Lay Subsidies, 18^a (Somerset, 1332), 19^a (Shropshire, 1332).

¹⁶ Exchequer Lay Subsidies, 15^a (London, 12 Edward II, the ward), 16^a (Cambridge, 8 Edward II, the ward), 17^a, 18^a (York, 1 and 6 Edward III, the parish), 19^a (Norwich, 6 Edward III, the leet).

day named. This was usually Michaelmas, when the crops were in and such property could be easily assembled and valued. No loss or sale of movable goods subsequent to Michaelmas was to be taken into account by the subtaxers when they reached the potential taxpayer. After the valuation of personal property had been made, the results of the labor of the subtaxers were recorded upon duplicate local assessment rolls.¹⁷ Unfortunately not many of these documents have been preserved at the Public Record Office. The reason for this is that they were not sent to the exchequer, except for some special reason, such as the investigation of charges of fraudulent assessment. Upon these rolls are described in detail, after the names of the property owners, the various kinds of movables in their possession with the assessed valuations of each item. These valuations are then totaled and the amount to be paid by each person estimated. The assessment of the goods of the subtaxers, made under the direction of the chief taxers by men of the district, is at times separately recorded on the same rolls.

After a general survey and correction of the local assessments by the chief taxers, the information contained in the local rolls was summarized in two large rolls for the entire county.¹⁸ On these appear, arranged by hundreds and townships, or whatever the divisions used, the names of the owners of property and the sums with which they were charged to the subsidy. One of these rolls was taken to the exchequer for its information, the other retained by the chief taxers for the purpose of collecting the tax. During the reigns of Edward I and Edward II only a relatively small number of these county rolls seem to have been kept by the officials of the exchequer. Apparently it was not the special duty of anyone to preserve them. By Stapledon's ordinance of 1323 it was, however, made the duty of the king's remembrancer of the exchequer to care for the rolls of taxation. The remarkably complete series of the rolls preserved for the taxes of 1327 and 1332 is direct and sufficient evidence of the efficacy of this enactment. When the chief taxers appeared before the exchequer to account for what they had accomplished, the assessment of the personal property of the nation was brought to a close with the valuation of their goods by the treasurer and barons.¹⁹

¹⁷ There are relatively few of these local rolls in print. The following examples illustrate the character of the assessment in both urban and rural districts: Rot. Parl., I, 228-238, 243-264 (Colchester, 1295, 1301); Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, XVI (Yorkshire, 1297).

¹⁸ A number of these rolls have been edited and published by the English local historical societies. See the list in Gross, Sources and Literature of English History, second edition, 428-435.

¹⁹ This valuation is at times noted at the end of the county roll. E. g., Sussex Record Society, X, 334; William Salt Archaeological Society, X, 132; Exchequer Lay Subsidy, 142 (Shropshire, 6 Edward III). On the enrolled account of the subsidy of 1332 the valuation of the goods of the chief taxers is recorded; L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Subsidies, No. 8, mm. 2-3.

The way has now been cleared for a discussion of the personal property that was valued and of the owners of property listed among the taxpayers. The instructions, upon examination, do not contribute any exact definition of movables. They state that all such goods were to be taxed with the exception of certain kinds of goods specifically excused. In like fashion all the people were to be liable for their goods except those therein relieved from the burden of taxation. By first considering these exemptions it will be possible to eliminate not only several classes of property, but also some property owners from further consideration. It will then be in order to turn to the more definite information found in the local and county rolls.

The standard list of movables exempt from taxation is found in the instructions of 1290.²⁰ Such changes as were made in later years were either ephemeral in character or unimportant modifications of this list. It was divided into two parts, one having to do with the property of men living in the rural districts, the other with the goods of those living in the cities and boroughs. The first or rural list exempted the armor, riding horses, jewels, and clothing of the knights, gentlemen and their wives, and their vessels of gold, silver, and brass; the second or urban list exempted a garment for a man and one for his wife and a bed for the two, one ring, one clasp of silver or gold, and a girdle of silk, if these were in daily use, and a drinking cup of silver or mazer.

Among the property owners receiving special consideration in the forms of taxation, the lepers occupied a peculiar position. Their movables were not to be taxed if they were ruled by a master who was a leper; if their master was sound their goods were to be taxed.²¹ The only other class dealt with in the forms was that of the clergy. Though it is hardly possible without a detailed discussion to fully explain their relation to the lay subsidies, it is believed that the following brief statement indicates its more important features. In 1291 was completed the valuation of the property of the English clergy made by order of Pope Nicholas IV.²² This valuation was thereafter available for the use of the crown as well as of the papacy. During the remainder of the reign of Edward I it was the practice to base clerical grants upon the taxation of Pope Nicholas and to tax only the goods on the temporal lands of the clergy whenever they, either individually or collectively, refused to grant a tax to the king. In the instructions of 1307 the position of the clergy

²⁰ Vincent, *op. cit.*, I, 177-178.

²¹ The clause reads: "E les biens des meseaux la ou il sount governez par sovereyn meseal ne seient taxez ne prisez. E sil seient meseaux governez par mestre seyn seient leur biens taxez come des autres gentz"; Palgrave, *op. cit.*, I, 63.

²² See the paper by Miss Rose Graham in the *English Historical Review*, XXIII, 434-454, and the returns of the valuation as published by the Record Commission, *Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate Nicholai IV.*

was clearly defined and placed upon a sound basis. All property, whether temporalities or spiritualities, which was taxed under the clerical grants and so included in the taxation of Pope Nicholas, was to be excused from the valuation for the lay subsidies.²³ But for movables upon or issuing from lands acquired since 1291 or not taxed when the clerical subsidies were levied, the clergy were to pay whenever lay subsidies were granted. This clause reappears in all the forms of the reign of Edward II, but is not found in those of the years 1327 and 1332. The practice of these years, despite this omission, followed the older instructions.²⁴

There remains but one other exemption clause to be considered. It had to do with the smallest holding of personal property that was to be taxed. This minimum was frequently changed. In 1290 it was 15 shillings' worth of property. From 1294 to 1297 it varied with the rate of taxation, a tenth and sixth having the corresponding minima of 10 shillings and 6 shillings. There was no exemption of small holdings in 1301. For the later subsidies the minimum for the rural districts was 10 shillings, with the exception of the year 1307, when it was 15 shillings. In the cities, boroughs, and ancient demesne the minimum was also 10 shillings, save in 1319, when it was half a mark, and in 1322 and 1332, when it was 6 shillings.

Special exemptions from the burden of one or more subsidies, granted by special writs and not indicated in the forms of the taxation, were fairly numerous. Individuals were at times excused, though very infrequently.²⁵ The goods of the workers in the royal tin mines in Cornwall and Devon, the stannary men, were not subject to the levy of the national taxes upon movables after 1305.²⁶ The king's moneyers, the workers in the royal mints at London and Canterbury, were in a like privileged position.²⁷ Because of poverty caused by fire, flood, pestilence, or the havoc of war, townships, boroughs, and even counties were at times excused. The most notable

²³ The clause reads: "Et fait a savoir, que les propres Biens des Prelatz, & des Religions, & d'autres Clerks, lesqueux Biens sont issantz de Temporautez que sont annex a leur Eglises, & sont taxez entre leur Esprituantez a la Disme, ne seront mie taxez en ceste Taxacion des Lais; Por ce que les ditz Prelatz, Religions, & autres clers donnent au Roi le Quinzime de lor Esprituantez & Temporautez selonc la Taxacion darreinement faite. Netredent, si Prelat, home de Religion, ou autre clerk, eit Terre ou Tenement de heritage ou de purchaz, ou a Ferme, ou en noun de Garde, ou par Eschete, ou en autre manere, qe ne soit cea en ariere taxe au Disme qe la Clergie ad done, soit taxacion fait de tous les Biens qe leur feurent en mesmes les lieux le jour de Seint Michel desus dit, en la forme qe ceste Taxacion se ferra des Biens des Lais"; Rot. Parl., I, 443.

²⁴ See the references given in my paper, "The English church and the lay taxes of the fourteenth century," University of Colorado Studies, IV, 217-225.

²⁵ C. P. R., 1307-1313, 152, 153, 179, 204, 229, 274, 321, etc.

²⁶ Lewis, G. R., *The Stannaries*, 164-165; *Victoria County History of Cornwall*, I, 536.

²⁷ C. P. R., 1272-1281, 416; *ibid.*, 1307-1313, 152; C. C. R., 1333-1337, 549-550; *Calendar of Letter Books*, London Letter Book C, 102-103; *ibid.*, Letter Book D, 260; L. T. R. *Memoranda Roll*, No. 80 (3 Edward II), m. 62 d; *Pipe Roll* 152 A (35 Edward I), m. 27 (*Moneyers of Canterbury*); *Exchequer Lay Subsidy* $\frac{1}{2}$ (Kent, 8 Edward III).

example of such a special exemption is that of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmoreland during the greater part of the reign of Edward II and the early years of Edward III because of the devastation caused by the raids of the Scots.²⁸ Ecclesiastical communities, such as abbeys, priories, and hospitals, at times sought and obtained the exemption of their taxable goods.²⁹

These exemptions, numerous as they may seem to be, left the bulk of the property of the nation and the majority of the property owners untouched. Though the movables of the very poor and a few articles in the hands of the gentry and burgesses would escape the assessment, there remained subject to the taxation all the essentials of life in either town or country. With the enumeration of the goods that were not to be valued the contribution of the instructions to a definition of movables ends.

The evidence of the returns of the subtaxers is, on the contrary, very clear. In the rural districts there were valued all kinds of domestic animals, horses, oxen, sheep, and swine, and all kinds of grain, wheat, barley, rye, and oats. Peas, beans, and hay were frequently enumerated. At times hives of bees appear. Some carts were valued, though they were usually designated as carts shod with iron, some wool, and now and then the goods of the rural tanner or small artisan. On the borough rolls are to be found not only the cattle, sheep, and grain of these semi-rural, semi-urban communities, but also household goods of all kinds, the tools of the artisan, merchandise, and many articles of luxury. The term "movables" meant, therefore, in actual practice, one thing in the country and another in the towns. But there is no indication of any such distinction in the forms of the taxation.

What is more, it may be categorically denied that the list of movables as it appears on the local assessment rolls for the villis includes all the personal possessions of the taxpayer. Where were the cheese, beer, cider, butter, eggs, salted or fresh meat, and other victuals of the peasants when the subtaxers appeared? Where were the plows, small carts, harrows, and other farming implements? Where were the household goods? There is no doubt of their omission, but how explain it?

What seems to have happened, in part at least, is that the subtaxers in the villis were following customs based on earlier instructions, but not mentioned in the forms of the taxes of 1290 or later. The list of exempted goods of the villains in 1225 includes the armor to which they were sworn, their tools, and their fish, flesh, drink, hay,

²⁸ See my paper, "The Scotch raids and the fourteenth century taxation of northern England," *University of Colorado Studies*, V, 237-242.

²⁹ The following are references to typical exemptions: C. P. R., 1307-1313, 207; C. C. R., 1323-1327, 421; *ibid.*, 1330-1333, 513, 520; *ibid.*, 1333-1337, 566.

and forage, which were not for sale.³⁰ In 1283 the list of exemptions was more specific and also more comprehensive.³¹ For those who were neither merchants nor burgesses it includes treasure, riding horses, bedding, clothing, vessels, tools, geese, capons, hens, bread, wine, cider, beer, and all kinds of food ready for use. These two lists would eliminate from the valuation all food in the larder, the farming implements, the household goods, the smaller domestic animals, and most of the products that were not for sale. Grant that these exemptions were customary, or that they became so, and it is possible to explain the records of the assessments made after 1290. A definition of movables in the rural districts made in conformity to the returns of the subtaxers would therefore include cattle and other domestic animals and, presumably, such grain and other produce as was for sale. In some districts it would have to include wool, a heavy cart, hives of bees, and probably a few other possessions, but at that it would always be subject to correction if a larger number of the local rolls were brought to light.

How far the subtaxers observed their instructions to value movables at their true value is a difficult question to answer. Some light is thrown on the problem by the local rolls. On approximately half of the rolls for the West Riding of Yorkshire, the subsidy being the ninth of 1297, there is much evidence of what may be called conventional valuation.³² In Burton, 28 oxen are enumerated, each ox being valued at 5 shillings, and 34 cows, each valued at 3 shillings 4 pence. In Austwick, there were 43 cows of the value of 4 shillings each. In Thornton, there were 15 cows valued at 3 shillings 6 pence, and 12 oxen valued at 4 shillings 6 pence. In Bentham, 36 cows were valued at 3 shillings 6 pence each, and 12 oxen at 5 shillings. In other villis elsewhere in the same riding the values placed upon both oxen and cows vary in relation, presumably, to the age, health, or usefulness of the ox or cow. It is hardly to be presumed that 43 cows in Austwick should each be worth exactly 4 shillings, 34 in Burton exactly 3 shillings 4 pence, and 36 in Thornton 3 shillings 6 pence, when it is considered that all these villis were in the same wapentake of Ewcross, and near neighbors. If the subtaxers adopted a plan of conventional valuation, it is quite likely to have been at the value of the poor rather than the higher grade cow or ox. Even if they did not go quite so far they were evading the strict letter of the instructions. Without reference to the sale prices of oxen and

³⁰ Patent Rolls, Henry III, 1216-1225, 560.

³¹ Palgrave, *op. cit.*, I, 12. For lists of the movables taxed see E. Powell, *A Suffolk Hundred in 1283*.

³² Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, XVI. The references to the villis named below are as follows: Burton, 1-4; Austwick, 4-6; Thornton, 11-12; Bentham, 12-14.

cows as found on the rolls of contemporary manorial bailiffs, it is hardly possible to extend the investigation of valuations further.

The property owners whose names appear on the local and country rolls charged with the payment of the taxes upon movables came from every rank and condition of medieval society save the very highest and the very lowest. The king's name does not appear on the rolls, or the queen's, and the very poor would escape taxation because of the provision for a minimum holding of taxable property. The goods of all others were taxed. Earls, barons, and simple knights; the two archbishops, the bishops, abbots, and other clergy down to the chaplain in a country village; and on the same lists John the reeve, William the carter, and Adam the miller, the peasant folk of the countryside.

The assessment was completed. The subtaxers, who were also the collectors of the subsidies, at once began to gather the money, which was soon on its way to the exchequer at Westminster.

IX. ENGLISH CUSTOMS REVENUE UP TO 1275.

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ENGLISH CUSTOMS REVENUE UP TO 1275.

By NORMAN S. B. GRAS.

The history of the English customs duties may be conveniently divided into several periods. The first is up to 1275, which we may call the period of unsuccessful beginnings. Between 1275 and 1347 the customs system, which is so well known in history, was established. This was made up of five groups: The ancient custom of 1275 on wool, woolfells, and hides; the new custom of 1303 paid by aliens; the cloth custom of 1347; the subsidy on wool, woolfells, and hides; and the subsidy of tonnage and poundage. In the next period—1347 to 1558—these were consolidated and maintained with but minor changes. Between 1558 and 1660 there were many royal impositions and considerable manipulation of valuations. During this period the constitutional struggle over the control of the customs took place. In the period from 1660 to 1787 Parliament controlled the customs, piling up one subsidy on another till the rates were in confusion. From 1787 to 1860 Pitt, Peel, Gladstone, and others carried through a policy of simplification and reduction. And since 1860 England has had free trade.

This outline is given in order to indicate the remoteness of the period of our present interest—that is, the period up to 1275.

The customs have been studied more or less carefully since 1606 when Bate's case of impositions precipitated the struggle between Crown and Parliament for the control of the customs. Lawyers such as Coke, Bacon, Davies, and Hale have endeavored to discover and explain the main lines of development. Historians, too, have devoted their energies to the task, notably Madox, Hallam, Stubbs, Round, and Hall. The works of all of these are useful, but they have many shortcomings.

Since the appearance of Hall's book in 1885 not a single important treatise on the customs has appeared. This may be explained by the widespread acceptance of Hall's views. Much more surprising than this is the fact that, since the legal case of 1606 and the parliamentary discussion of 1610, not a single capital fact or a generalization of weight has been adduced for the better understanding of

the earlier history of the customs, that is, the period of origins up to 1275.

The only comprehensive theory of the origin of the English customs, an old one in essentials, was formulated and elaborated by Hall. According to this theory, the customs arose out of the royal right and practice of seizing goods from merchants. Whether this was acquiesced in because the King gave protection in return for the goods seized, or because such a seizure was regarded as a prerogative inherent in sovereignty, we do not need to inquire. It is enough to note that according to the theory the seizure of goods, at first irregular, was later systematized, reduced to a definite percentage, and finally commuted to money payments. Old as this view is in some of its essentials, and widespread as has been its acceptance, we must reject it in its general application. There can be no doubt about such seizure of goods in Angevin and late Plantagenet times, but for the view that it grew into the customs system there is no evidence. This "seizure," or, as it was called in the Norman-French of the time, the "prise" of goods, was the well-known practice of purveyance so indelibly written into the early legislation of England.

Usually where there is smoke there is at least a little fire. In most fables we are accustomed to look for an element of truth, and so in this theory there is a measure of genuine financial history. The prise theory, as we shall see presently, holds true for the development of the wine custom paid by aliens. To apply this theory, which rings true in the case of one commodity, to the whole situation is to make the exception the rule.

The purpose of this paper is not so much to disprove an old theory as to discover a new one. Not in the general and vague royal right of seizure, but in certain definite customs are the origin and early development of the national system to be sought. But before setting out on the quest let us reflect on the precise nature of our search. The essential characteristic of the system evolved in the period beginning in 1275 is indicated by the word "national." The customs were levied on foreign trade, were paid by both denizens and aliens, and were collected by officials directly or indirectly responsible to the sovereign to whom the returns were periodically made. It is hardly necessary to add that reference is here made to the sovereign as such rather than to the lord of lands held in demesne. With these criteria in mind, then, we may begin our search among the numerous taxes on trade which we encounter in medieval documents.

As we might expect, it is in connection with towns or boroughs that the assortment of customs is largest. These dues were so numerous and in some instances so difficult to understand that whenever we meet with an unfamiliar tax we readily put it down as a town custom or perhaps a fair due. A special investigation based upon comparative studies should be made to determine the precise nature of these

local or so-called local or town dues. Until this is made, however, we shall have to be content with a partial treatment of the subject.

With those town dues such as *custuma ville*, anchorage, *murage*, and the like, which were unquestionably local and not national in character, we do not need to concern ourselves, reserving our interest for those which on examination have at least some characteristics of national taxes. The earliest ones found are *lastage* and *scavage*.

Lastage was a tax on goods exported abroad, levied at a specific rate of so much per last, for example, per last of hides or herring. It was collected in at least nine or ten ports and is accounted for in the pipe roll of 1130 and in the pipe rolls of Henry II. Whether it goes back to the Anglo-Saxon rule or was imported by the Normans is not clear. An uncertain passage in the customs of Chester recorded in *Domesday Book*, seems to push *lastage* back to 1086, or perhaps even to the time of the Confessor.

The reasons why this tax has been neglected by the historians of the national customs are not hard to discover. At an early date *lastage* was defined as a tax on goods sold in fairs. With the question whether there ever was such a tax we are not so much concerned as with the fact that our *lastage* was collected only in seaports and on goods going abroad, if we are to trust an early fourteenth-century deposition made by a jury at Skirbeck. A further confusion is found between our *lastage* and the *lastage* meaning ballastage. Equally disturbing is the fact that *lastage*, unlike the late customs, came into the hands of local barons and gentry. In the twelfth century it was infeudated in one case at the tenure of *grand serjeanty*. If our Chester reference really be to *lastage*, we have an eleventh-century instance of a similar situation, the King and the Earl of Chester each sharing in the returns from the tax.

Not only did *lastage* as a tax suffer from infeudation, but from exemptions in favor of burgesses residing in certain privileged towns.

As to the origin of *lastage*, we can only speculate. It may have been a national tax imposed by Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Danish kings, which was all but buried in the process of feudalization, and which, because of the rise of prices and the unchangeableness of local (or localized) rates, came to have small value. Accordingly, when the later customs system was imposed, its identity was lost.

Analogous to *lastage* was *scavage*, a tax paid on showing goods. While *lastage* was an export tax, *scavage* was an import tax. Its earliest appearance is in a London document belonging to the eleventh century, but whether to the earlier or the latter half of the century we have no means of determining with any degree of certainty. The document in question smacks of the Anglo-Saxon régime and by one authority was assigned to the Anglo-Saxon

period. Accordingly, we may raise the question whether scavage had a history analogous to that of lastage.

No instance of scavage in any port other than London has been discovered. Whether this is indicative of its early decline in other points or of the restricted area of its application, is not apparent. If we regard it as a tax imposed by the national sovereign, we must see in it another example of localization, since it was in later days collected not by a feudal lord, it is true, but by the officials of the city. It was local in character, also, in so far as citizens of London were exempt from payment.

Occurring later than lastage and scavage are two other national taxes, both on wine, which have quite a different origin. The first of the two was sometimes called "cornage," a tax of a few pence on each tun or cask of wine imported from abroad. What the word means is unknown. It may have been of Norman origin, for we find a cornage in Normandy in 1099 and in England probably not earlier than about 1150. The name cornage was apparently not widely used in England, it may be, because it was already applied to the northern English tax of horngeld. The identity of the tax, however, may be traced right through the thirteenth century when it was called a "custom of pence," due to the King and to others. Like lastage and scavage it fell from the hands of the King into those of local potentates, a fact which in part explains its obscurity; and, if our information was not so scanty, we should probably find that like them, it, too, probably underwent local exemptions which would account for its gradual decline.

The other tax on wine is the "prise," later called "prisage." At first it was a seizure of a rather loosely-defined character; but the wine so seized was to be paid for. It is obvious that this was a device for filling the royal cellars with a commodity that was not so much a luxury as a necessity at the royal table. From an early date, too, the wine so seized, was given to nobles and high churchmen, somewhat as gobelins and sèvres were later on in France.

The history of the prise of wine runs somewhat parallel to the history of the other dues already dealt with. It, too, was infeudated and so lost to the Crown, and exemption from it was won, and always highly prized, by London and the Cinque ports. But here the analogy ends, for the prise, because of its original peculiar relation to the royal needs and the resulting prominence of the tax, had a close relation to the later customs system. It was commuted to a money payment in 1303, in the case of aliens, and centuries later in the case of denizens. It is this commutation that probably served as the suggestion for the general prise theory of the origin of the customs; but as we have noted, such a commutation was the exception rather than the rule.

Additional evidence that wine was unique is the fact that the prise of wine was originally hardly a tax at all. The King paid for the wine taken at a slightly less than market rate. The original wine tax was cornage. The prise of wine became a tax only when the early official valuation, which had become fixed at 20s. fell much below the market price in the general rise of prices in the thirteenth century. The prise as a tax was historically an accident, the King becoming the beneficiary of an unearned increment.

Whence the prise of wine came, we can do little more than conjecture. An analogous Norman tax, the modulation or measurage of wine, has priority in the records and may be the progenitor. At least two editors of documents have translated *modiatio* by *prisage*. But there is no good reason for closely associating the two, except in so far as both may have arisen in answer to the same need, that is, for wine for the sovereign's use.

All of these taxes, lastage, scavage, cornage, and prisage, have three points in common. The assizes or decrees bringing them into existence have been lost. While they were all national in so far as they were on foreign trade, imposed on alien and denizen, and apparently originally imposed by the sovereign, they all have traits of localism that are unmistakable. They were all infeudated in whole or in part and to all of them, with the possible exception of cornage, exemptions were made in favor of individuals or such groups of individuals as burgesses and the inmates of ecclesiastical establishments.

Infeudation and exemption are suggestive of what is probably the key to the origin of the national customs. Probably the model of the national system was the local system of the towns. The purely local customs of the towns, which we now call "tolls," were indeed at this early date called "customs," the very term applied to the four taxes above mentioned whenever they were described without being named. Exemption and infeudation are likewise the characteristics of local taxes. Seemingly then the town customs were at once the models for a national customs system and the rocks on which that system finally foundered. It was localism which was likewise to prove the stumbling block to later royal efforts as we shall presently see.

The concept of national customs is now familiar enough, but we must not take it for granted at the beginning. If the local system of taxation on trade antedated the national, as is probable, then the national system involved a new step not only of financial but of economic import. It would be going beyond what we know of the times to assign the invention to anything but fiscal expediency. Town customs already in existence were needed for local purposes. They bore many exemptions, at any rate at a later date. They did not hold out much prospect for further development at the hands of the sovereign. Accordingly a new system was evolved, based not

on local but on foreign trade. Any tax on such trade would seemingly be paid by foreign merchants who were the first to organize the export and import trades of England.

This new system was made up of lastage and scavage, with the later additions of cornage and prisage. The sovereign might evolve a new system, but he could not make it an entire success without changing the social and economic system of the time and the mental make-up of his subjects. Accordingly the new customs soon began to be assimilated to the local system with its exemptions and infeudation, and for this reason, as time went on, yielded less and less to the King, with the exception of prisage above noted. Time and tide, however, were with the central government which could make further efforts. These fell within the thirteenth century but still previous to the year 1275.

When hard pressed for money, King John imposed a new system of customs practically unrecognized by historians of English taxation and when at all noted, wrongly understood. The tax was a fifteenth of goods exported or imported, an *ad valorem* duty of $6\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. Although we have a summary account of the amount of money returned to the exchequer from this source, we do not know how long the tax lasted. Apparently its history was brief, for it has been traced only from the beginning in 1203 to the year 1207. Why it was so short-lived is unknown. The high percentage suggests opposition from the King's subjects. The loss of Normandy would point to the end of the most pressing need for its existence. But London's purchase of exemption for a lump sum is the significant event, indicating the most potent enemy of national taxes on trade, the privileged burgess class of the town. Localism was ready to do for this tax what it had done for lastage and the others.

In the reign of Henry III there is some general evidence of the desire on the part of the sovereign to use the royal right of purveyance as a means to establish a new tax on trade. The Barons' War checked this, and in its stead came a tax which apparently has never been isolated and identified, though it has been accidentally noted by historians. This is the new aid of 1266.

The new aid of 1266 was the invention of Prince Edward, later Edward I. It was an *ad valorem* tax on foreign trade, which lasted apparently down to the laying of the corner stone of the later customs system in 1275. What the rate was is unknown, for no accounts of the tax are extant. Why it was of so short life is likewise uncertain, though we may conjecture that the reason was chiefly the extraordinary character of the tax, which like other aids was levied to meet a special situation. But this much is clear that, as in the case of the other customs, towns at once sought and obtained exemptions through the influence of patrons or by the payment of money.

With this our outline ends; that is, with the disappearance of the new aid, about Easter, 1275. All the taxes dealt with have been national in whole or in part. All have been called into existence by special action of the sovereign, with some little doubt (because of lack of evidence) in the case of only two, lastage and scavage. All have suffered from the dominant localism of the day. All have been money payments, except prisage which was peculiar in many respects, as has been shown.

According to long-accepted opinion, the order of development of English national taxes has been, first, those on land (the Danegeld), then on movables (the Saladin tithe), and only later on trade (the commuted prise). If what has been said about the development of the customs be true, then this order must be changed. National taxes on trade preceded those on movables and possibly those on land.

Vinogradoff has lately resurrected the question: What was the ordinary means of meeting the requirements of the early national government? He has answered it orthodoxly by asserting that services not taxes were the main reliance, services from Crown lands rather than revenue from public taxation. He probably misses the main point at issue when he speaks of the tenth and eighth centuries in the one breath. What may have been true at the time of Bede would probably not have held in the year 1000. Bede might well have complained of the alienation of the royal demesne, but this alienation was one of the processes that made a new field of taxes essential. All this leads us merely to the speculation about the time when the first national customs duties were imposed, the lastage and the scavage. The conservative answer is in the period 1050-1150, but this may be a century too late.

In place of the gradual and vague development underlying the prise theory, we should substitute a series of clearly defined actions and inventions which, though in themselves single events, were not isolated facts. The establishment of lastage, scavage, cornage, prisage, the fifteenth, and the new aid marked in each case an episode in the struggle between localism and nationalism. The struggle was in no sense won by nationalism in 1275, but at that date there was every assurance that it would be. The history of the period from 1275 to 1347 is replete with evidence of the waning strength of localism and the growing power of nationalism. Localism was carried into the Parliaments of the period, while nationalism was enthroned in the royal council. By means of gradual encroachment, tact, and cooperation, the Crown ultimately had its way. Up to 1275 every effort on the part of the Government to found a national customs system resulted in a large measure of failure; in the subsequent period every effort ended in partial or complete success.

X. THE ASSOCIATION.

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THE ASSOCIATION.

By J. F. JAMESON.

The purpose of this brief paper is to set forth some facts and make some suggestions or conjectures regarding the history of the institution called the association in a specialized sense of that word. When the First Continental Congress met in this historic city, in a hall not many squares from that in which we are to-day assembled, one of its first acts was to appoint a committee to prepare an association. What did they mean by that word? If used in this present day of highly developed social organization, it would mean an organized body having a president, a vice president, a secretary, a treasurer, an executive committee, a constitution, and probably also by-laws, and as many other of the paraphernalia of organization "as the traffic would bear"; but what the members of the First Continental Congress meant was a document of the nature of a non-importation agreement. In their journal, under date of October 20, 1774, we read: "The association being copied, was read and signed at the table, and is as follows." Then the document is inserted, with 52 signatures of members, followed by the vote: "Ordered. That this association be committed to the press and that 120 copies be struck off."¹ Of these first 120 printed copies one, bearing the signatures of the members, may be seen in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Although in the year 1774 the word "association" was occasionally used in other senses, yet its main sense, in the minds of men occupied with such tasks as those of the Continental Congress, was that of a signed agreement to pursue a given course of public action. It is the history of the association in this sense that I wish to discuss in outline on the present occasion.

Whence came the word, and the device which it denoted, into the minds of the members of the First Continental Congress? Like so much else in their procedure, it came directly from precedents in the action of their respective colonies. For one instance not long before, when the Virginian House of Burgesses, on May 17, 1769, was dissolved by Gov. Botetourt because of their resolutions condemning parliamentary taxation, they proceeded at once to meet in an informal

¹ "Journals of the Continental Congress," ed. Ford, I, 75-81, Oct. 20, 1774. See also Force, "American Archives," fourth series, I, 913.

assemblage at the Raleigh Tavern, and, passing resolutions against the use of any merchandise that should be imported from Great Britain, drew them up in the form of articles of association, which were signed by those present and sent in various copies to the other colonies and to Great Britain, while other copies were circulated throughout the counties of Virginia for the signature of every free-man who would subscribe.²

Many of the non-importation agreements of those two or three years were called associations by those official or unofficial bodies that prepared them, and frequently they were printed under headings in which that name occurs. But the term, in colonial practice, was far from originating at that time. In that House of Burgesses which Lord Botetourt so summarily dissolved in May, 1769, many of the older members could easily remember the opening of the session of 1745, when the governor in his formal address proposed that after the example of their fellow-subjects the burgesses and inhabitants of Virginia enter into an association to defend their Sovereign Lord King George the Second from all the perils involved in the Jacobite rising of that year.³

But indeed, as Gov. Gooch's phrase indicates, the device was not one originating in the colonies, but was imitated from English practice, recurring from time to time. Let us, therefore, turn to the story of the association in English history.

So far as I have been able to discover, the first use in English history of the word "association" in the sense which we have been discussing occurs in 1584, in the celebrated instance of the association for the protection of Queen Elizabeth. It is true that the conspirator Edward Fitzharris, in the libel which led to his trial in 1681, says: "Let the counties be ready to enter into an association, as the county of York did in Henry the Eighth's time."⁴ He refers to the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536, but I find no evidence of the general signing of any document on that occasion, and as no one seems to believe anything that Fitzharris said about matters happening in his own day, we shall hardly regard him as an authority respecting the days of Henry VIII. We begin then with the incidents of 1584. The plots of Throckmorton and others to assassinate the Queen in order to bring about the succession of the Queen of Scots had, it will be remembered, been discovered, their intentions frustrated, and the authors punished. Yet the sense of danger remained very acute, the law being in such a state that the death of the sovereign dissolved many of the constitutional foundations of society and in the existing circumstances would most likely lead to civil war. With

² "Journals of the House of Burgesses," s. d.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1745.

⁴ "Parliamentary History," IV, app. XIII, xxvii.

that death Parliament would automatically come to an end, commissions would expire, public authority be nowhere securely vested. The device which was adopted in order to bridge the crisis apprehended was that of a Protestant association. The terms of the document are well known. It declares that those "whose names are or shall be subscribed to this writing . . . calling first to witness the name of Almighty God, do voluntarily and most willingly bind ourselves, every one of us to the other, jointly and severally in the band of one firm and loyal society; and do hereby vow and promise by the Majesty of Almighty God that with our whole powers, bodies, lives, and goods, we will serve and obey our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, against all states, dignities, and earthly powers whatsoever, and will with our joint and particular force during our lives withstand, pursue, and offend, as well by force of arms as by all other means of revenge, all manner of persons of whatsoever estate they be, and their abettors, that shall attempt any act, or counsel or consent to anything that shall tend to the harm of Her Majesty's person," and will never accept or favor as successor anyone on whose behalf such detestable acts have been committed or attempted, but will prosecute such person to the death.⁵

Such was the document prepared by Burghley and Walsingham. The privy councillors, the judges, and all others in and about London who held office under the Crown, signed forthwith. Letters from Walsingham went out to each lord lieutenant, urging him to induce the gentry of his county to execute a similar instrument of association, and for that purpose the secretary sent copies to each, one of which, when signed and sealed, should be sent to the council, while the other was to be kept by the Custos Rotulorum of the county. In the Public Record Office are preserved the copies which came back from many of the counties, with multitudes of signatures appended. "The loyal," says Froude, "signed in a passion of delight; the disloyal, because they dared not refuse." The Earl of Derby, writing for Lancashire, himself not exempt from suspicion, shows us the picturesque scene in which, on his knees in church, bareheaded, he took the oath, administered by the Bishop of Chester to him, first among the throng, and so to the rest, six at a time.⁶

Now what was the nature of the device thus so extensively and so enthusiastically adopted? Obviously it was extra-legal, an emergency measure adopted to meet exigencies not provided for by the existing constitution or laws. Questions of conscience, questions respecting illegality, did not fail to arise immediately in some scrupulous minds. In the Public Record Office is a paper entitled, "The Dangers that may ensue by the Oath of Allegiance hereafter, if it be

⁵ "State Trials" (Howell), I, 1161-1163.

⁶ "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic," 1581-1590, pp. 207-208, 210-212.

not qualified by a convenient Act of Parliament,"⁷ and an act was passed by the Parliament which was immediately convened, the statute of 27 Elizabeth ch. 1, "an act for the security of the Queen's Majesty's Most Royal Person."

But a device which, even by extra-legal means, could save the nation from civil war and the Protestant religion from extirpation, was too valuable to be ill thought of, and its popularity and éclat were not likely ever to be forgotten. In the period of the Interregnum, so fertile in constitutional experiments, signs are not wanting that the Protestant Association of 1584 was not lost from memory. The Eastern Association and the Midland Association of 1642 do not seem to have had the nature of signed agreements, but rather to have been associations or groupings of counties effected by a superior authority, associations in a more modern sense. But the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, like the Scottish National Covenant of five years earlier, was precisely a signed agreement binding the signatories to persevere in a described course of public action.

But leaving Scottish instances to a later moment, we may pass on to the association of 1681, alleged to have been found in Shaftesbury's closet, though declared by him to be wholly unauthentic. Like its great prototype of 1584, it purported to defend the security of the Protestant religion, by preventing or making unprofitable a Catholic succession. The signers were to bind themselves, in case of King Charles's assassination, to obey Parliament and those commissioned by it, and in case of its dissolution, to obey those of its members who had enrolled themselves in this association.⁸ Not merely extra-legal but plainly illegal, such a bond nevertheless represents clearly the type we are pursuing, and continues its tradition.

Of far wider fame and effect was the association of 1688 which Sir Edward Seymour devised when he went to meet William of Orange at Exeter, and which did so much to pave the way for the latter's success, the signers pledging themselves to hold together until religion and the laws and liberties of the country had been established in a free parliament.⁹ The problem was that of meeting by voluntary and concerted action an interval in the operation of the regular machinery of monarchy.

Eight years later it again became, or seemed, necessary to provide a device by which, as by the flywheel of an engine, the machinery of monarchical government might be carried past a dead-point, caused, not by the monarch's flight or abdication, but, as in Queen Elizabeth's day, by his prospective assassination. In February, 1696,

⁷ "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic," 1581-1590, pp. 207-208, 210-212.

⁸ "State Trials," VIII, 781-787. See also "Discourse touching the Addresses or Presentments to the King against the Association, with Account of the Association made and confirmed in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth" (1682).

⁹ Burnet, "Own Time," I, 792.

the plot of Sir John Fenwick and others to kill King William at Turnham Green had on its discovery caused widespread alarm throughout the nation, then still at war with France, still apprehensive of a reinstatement of King James, and still nervous respecting Popery. It was still the law that the death of the King *eo ipso* dissolved Parliament and determined all offices held under the Crown. The movement which ensued has been brilliantly described by Macaulay:

"Sir Rowland Gwyn, an honest country gentleman, made a motion of which he did not at all foresee the important consequences. He proposed that the members should enter into an association for the defence of their sovereign and their country. Montague, who of all men was the quickest at taking and improving a hint, saw how much such an association would strengthen the government and the Whig party. An instrument was immediately drawn up by which the representatives of the people, each for himself, solemnly recognized William as rightful and lawful King, and bound themselves to stand by him and by each other against James and James's adherents. They vowed that, if His Majesty's life should be shortened by violence, they would avenge him signally on his murderers, and would, with one heart, strenuously support the order of succession settled by the Bill of Rights." To copies of this association, circulated throughout England, several hundred thousand subscriptions were at once obtained. "It seems certain," says Macaulay, "that the Association included the great majority of the adult male inhabitants of England who were able to sign their names. * * * The association was signed by the rude fishermen of the Scilly Rocks, by the English merchants of Malaga, by the English merchants of Genoa, by the citizens of New York, by the tobacco planters of Virginia, and by the sugar planters of Barbadoes."¹⁰

Again in 1715 and in 1745 and in some later crises, when danger threatened monarchs of the house of Hanover, loyal associations were drawn up and signed almost as a matter of course.

What Macaulay says of imitation in the colonies is shown by many American examples. Thus the Marylanders in April, 1689, following close upon the movement begun at Exeter by Sir Edward Seymour, drew up and signed "An Association in Arms for the Defense of the Protestant Religion, and for asserting the Right of King William and Queen Mary to the Province of Maryland and all the English Dominions."¹¹ Eight years later, after Fenwick's plot, and at

¹⁰ "History of England," IV, 533, 544-548.

¹¹ Chalmers, "Political Annals," 373. Their declaration was printed at St. Mary's in 1689, the earliest known publication with a Maryland imprint, and reprinted in 1689 in London and recently in this society's "Original Narratives" series, "Narratives of the Insurrections," 305-314.

various other times of crisis, we find in various colonies associations to stand by the Protestant succession.¹²

Thus the line of descent from the Protestant Association of 1584 to that framed in Philadelphia by the First Continental Congress 143 years ago is entirely clear, with the word used recurringly in the same sense, of a signed agreement to persevere in common in the same course of public effort. But what was the descent of the association framed in Queen Elizabeth's time, what its origins or models? The answer to such a question must always be in some degree conjectural. It might easily be argued that the institution or device was of Scottish origin, as I have elsewhere shown to be the case with the device called the convention, borrowed from Scottish practice a little later.¹³ In Scottish history there had been numerous signed agreements of a political character, usually agreements between the turbulent nobles of that distracted country to oppose their unfortunate monarch or some rival group of nobles. In Scottish practice they were not called associations, but bonds or bands.¹⁴ Thus, when the Scottish Queen Mary, with prudent eagerness, hastened to concur in the association for the protection of Elizabeth, the document in which she did so is entitled "The Queen of Scotts Bond in Association to be an Enemie to all that shall attempt anie Thing against her Majestie's Lyffe."¹⁵ There seems to have been a "band" for the murder of Darnley; there certainly was one for the murder of Riccio.¹⁶ The followers of Knox drew up in 1557 the Common or Godly Band, in 1559 the Bond of the Congregation and the Generall Band, all of them precursors of the covenants of 1581 and 1638. But, indeed, there is a long line of precedents in Scottish history, down from at least the time of the Bruces, when, for instance, we find in Balfour's *Annales*, under date of 1306, that "This yeire ther was a mutuall endenture made betuix Sir Gilbert Hay of Erole, Sir Neill Campbell of Lochaw, and Sir Alexander Setton, knights, at the abbey of Londors, to defend King Robert and hes croune to the last of ther bloodes and fortunes: upone the sealling of the said indenture, they solemnly toke the sacrament at St. Maries altar, in the said abbey-churche."¹⁷

¹² "New Hampshire Provincial Papers," II, 258-259. "Md. Archives," XX, 538-546, with eight pages of signatures.

¹³ "On the Early Political Uses of the Word Convention," in "American Historical Review," III, 477-487.

¹⁴ Rev. James Hewson, "Bands or Covenants in Scotland, with a List of Extant Copies of the Scottish Covenants," in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, fourth series, XLII, 166-182.

¹⁵ "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic," ubi supra.

¹⁶ See appendix to Andrew Lang, "The Mystery of Mary Stuart," 381-385, for the instance relating to Darnley, and, for that relating to Riccio, Goodall, "Examination of the Letters of Mary Queen of Scots," I, 266-268.

¹⁷ Balfour, "Annales of Scotland," I, 89.

Thus conjecture might attribute the association devised in October, 1584, by Burghley and Walsingham to imitation of a familiar Scottish model. But we are not without definite evidence of a curious sort pointing in another direction. The association was presented to the Privy Council on the 19th of October. Under date of October 12 there is, in the State Papers, Domestic, a letter of Burghley to Walsingham in which he writes that he has been much pleased with a book in which he found "The Confederation of the Nobility of the Low Countries against the Inquisition" in anno 1568 (he means 1566), and advises Walsingham to read it.¹⁸ Thus a week before the two statesmen completed their association and presented it to the council for signature we find their minds actively occupied with the so-called Compromise of 1566, familiar to readers of Motley,¹⁹ by which Louis of Nassau and some 2,000 other noblemen and gentlemen and even burghers of the Low Countries bound themselves to resist the Inquisition and the rule of the foreigner.

And what was the model of this Belgic document of 1566? Plainly the earlier among those Catholic leagues which had already begun to be powerful in France. To many minds the league in French history means simply the Holy League, the alliance of the Guises with Philip II. But on its first emergence in French history a few years earlier than that alliance the term league denotes an association of precisely the type we have been considering, a signed agreement to persevere in a given course of public action; in this case the maintenance of the Catholic religion against heretical sectaries and time-serving kings and politicians. The earliest which Prof. Thompson's industry has discovered is a local association formed at Bordeaux in 1560. Another, for Provence, was drawn up at Aix in November, 1562. Montluc instigated the redaction of another at Agen in February, 1563, and took part in the framing of still another at Toulouse in March, which Agrippa d'Aubigné calls "the prototype and first example of all the leagues that have since appeared in France."²⁰

Thus by 1566 Louis of Nassau and his light-headed companions had in their minds many examples of the signed political agreement, and by 1584 the whole genus was doubtless familiar to statesmen so experienced as Burghley and Walsingham. Most of the members of the Continental Congress would have been ill pleased to think that the device they employed descended, even indirectly, from the Catholic leagues of sixteenth-century France, but such is most likely the historic fact.

¹⁸ "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic," 1581-1590, p. 202.

¹⁹ "Rise of the Dutch Republic," I, 493-499.

²⁰ J. W. Thompson, "The Wars of Religion in France," 213-216.

As to earlier origins, it is perhaps sufficient to say that instances of the signed agreement to hold together for the attainment of given political aims occur here and there throughout the later Middle Ages, in the history of England (e. g., the barons at St. Edmund's in 1214).²¹ of France, of Castile (hermandades) and Aragon, of Germany and Bohemia. As a primitive form of "His Majesty's Opposition," as a simple step toward the organization of like-minded persons for political action other than that of the State, such agreements were almost certain to arise.

More significant, however, than any question of origins is that of the essential nature of the association and its place in the political development of Europe. To properly place it in the history of the sixteenth century, we need to bear in mind how firmly the men of that time held that the nation and the country were the king's; that the right to direct policy resided in him; how abhorrent to their thoughts would have been the rule of parties. The word "party" they used as synonymous with faction, as denoting a thing to be warmly reprobated, a thing fraught with danger to the State. The party and the association were alike to be deprecated, as substituting illegal or extra-legal machinery for that orderly government by the king through the king's ministers which alone was the constitutional means for achieving the lawful ends of the State. "Leagues within the State," says Lord Bacon in his essay on faction, "are ever pernicious to monarchies: for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king *tanquam unus ex nobis*: as was to be seen in the League of France." But of the two devices, the party or faction was the more reprehensible, as giving permanent force to the selfish interests of private men as against the public interest represented by the monarch. The association, formed for a temporary occasion and limited by a definite program, seemed less dangerous and more allowable. Its interest lies in the fact that for a time it stood side by side with the party, as a means for reaching political ends through means other than those of the monarchical administration. The rivalry was soon ended in favor of the more flexible of the two devices, the one more capable of organization. The party became in time the leading means of achieving public ends; the association was relegated to the museum of constitutional antiquities.

²¹ Stubbs, "Const. Hist.," I, 567.

XI. TO WHAT EXTENT WAS GEORGE ROGERS CLARK IN
MILITARY CONTROL OF THE NORTHWEST AT THE
CLOSE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION?

By JAMES A. JAMES,
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One view of this question is fairly presented in the letter of Gov. Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, to Clark, on July 2, 1783. In this letter, Gov. Harrison states that since an offensive war against the Northwestern Indians has been given up that Clark's services in that region will no longer be necessary. "But before I take leave of you," he says, "I feel myself called on in the most forcible manner to return you my thanks and those of my council for the very great and singular services you have rendered your country in wresting so great and valuable a territory out of the hands of the British enemy, repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on successful war in the heart of their country." John Pierce, representing the United States, as one of the three commissioners appointed to adjust the claims of Virginia for debts contracted in carrying on the Revolution in the Northwest, maintained "that by leaving the territory with his forces, Clark relinquished the defense of it, and he can not, I think, be said to have maintained or defended a country beyond him in which he retained no garrison and from which he was at such a distance as to afford no immediate assistance."¹

Among the statements of historians who have discussed the problem, the two following may also be fairly taken as illustrative. "Clark would have pushed on to capture Detroit also but want of sufficient reinforcements compelled him to be content with holding Vincennes, Cahokia, and Kaskaskia. These posts, however, were sufficient to insure the American hold upon the Northwest until, in the peace negotiations of 1782, the military prowess of Clark was followed up by the diplomatic triumph of Jay."²

"The summer of 1779 marked the zenith of Virginia's power north of the Ohio; from that date there was steady decline. * * * For a year more there were a score of soldiers in those posts, acting as scouts; but even these were recalled in the following winter, and the villages were left to shift for themselves. * * * Virginia had

¹ At the meeting of the commission, May 15, 1788, William Heth, one of the commissioners, was appointed by Virginia. The third commissioner was David Henley. State Department Manuscript, Bureau of Indexes and Archives.

² Van Tyne, *The American Revolution*, p. 284.

really only weakened the hold of the mother country on a small corner of the disputed territory."³

To determine the influence of Clark's conquests it will be necessary to ascertain to what extent he retained military control in the Northwest. The summer following the capture of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, 1779, Clark was forced to forego the march against Detroit; as he expressed it, "Detroit lost for want of a few men." But his preparations for this expedition produced unexpected results on the enemy. Efforts were made to render Detroit and Michilimackinac more defensible, and reinforcements were hurried to these posts.⁴ Their French and Indian allies were in a panic over the report that the English, unable to withstand the effect of the alliance of the Americans, French, Spanish, and Germans, would be driven out of America. So great was the disaffection among the Indians that according to British testimony the Sioux was the only tribe still true to them.⁵ Two expeditions sent from Michilimackinac to intercept the Americans, one a force of some 300 regulars, traders, and Indians, the other with 600 made up mainly of Indians, and a third of 200 Indians, led by officers from Detroit, retreated in haste upon hearing a report that Clark was advancing toward Detroit with a force of 4,000. A campaign against Vincennes and another against Fort Pitt were also abandoned.

While establishing his headquarters in the newly erected fort at the falls of the Ohio Clark's plans seem to have comprehended two main objects—to raise a force in Kentucky, "with the hopes of giving the Shawnees a Drubbing,"⁶ and to make a "bold push" and reduce Detroit and Mackinac.⁷ Full powers were granted him by Gov. Jefferson to engage in either of these enterprises or establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio.

While preparing for the capture of Detroit, without which there could be no permanent peace, Clark, in the spring of 1780, began a fort 5 miles below the mouth of the Ohio, although a location north of that river was at first contemplated.⁸ Some months before, he had advocated building this fort, for on account of a failure of crops in the Illinois country some location nearer the frontier settlements would make the sustenance of his troops more feasible.⁹ Moreover,

³ Alvord, *Virginia and the West: an Interpretation*, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. III, 34.

⁴ The name Michilimackinac was changed to Mackinac in 1781, when that post was transferred to the island of Mackinac.

⁵ De Peyster to Haldimand, July 1, 1779. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, IX, 390.

⁶ Clark to George Mason, Nov. 19, 1779. *James, George Rogers Clark Papers*, 153.

⁷ Clark to Jonathan Clark, Jan. 16, 1780. *Clark Papers*, 383. "My proposition would be to Make a bold push, Reduce those Garisons and no peace with the Indians, only on our own terms, and never after suffer arms or amunition to go among them, which would effectually bring them to our Feet."

⁸ Thomas Jefferson to Clark, June 14, 1780. *Clark Papers*, 427.

⁹ Clark to Jefferson, Sept. 23, 1779. *Clark Papers*, 365.

he argued that this post should be made the center for the other western garrisons; that it would at once become the key to the trade of the western country and furnish a good location for the Indian department as well as give the means of controlling the Chickasaw and the Illinois posts. By March, of 1780, he was aware that the British were again winning control over the northwestern tribes and that they contemplated some such plan of action as that attempted by Gov. Hamilton. Not alone must this expedition which threatened the total loss of western control be checked, but the advance of the Spaniards east of the Mississippi, who as John Todd said, "have a fondness for engrossing territory," must also be met. The continuance of American control in the Illinois country seemed, as Clark believed, to depend on the concentration of his available force at the new fort. By this striking move, the Indians would be so mystified that they would refuse to join the British on the aforesaid expedition. At no time was there the suggestion of abandoning any territory beyond the Ohio, Gov. Jefferson having adopted the views of Clark and Todd on the practicability of concentration in the fort at the mouth of the Ohio which would, as he said, facilitate trade with the Illinois and be near enough to furnish aid to that territory; protect the trade with New Orleans; and together with other posts to be established would constitute a chain of defense for the western frontier.¹⁰ In pursuance of this project, the troops were withdrawn from Vincennes leaving only a company of French militia to guard that post. But before the retirement of the troops from the Illinois villages had taken place a formidable advance by the British was inaugurated.

This plan for gaining control over the Mississippi—Spain was then a common enemy of the British—for the recapture of the Illinois country, the falls of the Ohio, and finally Forts Pitt and Cumberland, was one of the most striking military conceptions of the entire Revolution. If successful, the whole region west of the Alleghanies must have become and doubtless would have remained British territory, for all communication between Clark and the East would thus have been destroyed. Besides, conditions east of the mountains must have been modified, for British rangers and their hordes of Indian allies would have been free to join the ranks of the British generals in Virginia and the South.

The British were to advance in five sections, and three major assaults were ordered to be made at widely separate points. With a force of 1,500 men, Gen. Campbell was to proceed from Pensacola and capture New Orleans. His strength was to be increased by the addition of white troops and Indians from Mackinac, this force having proceeded down the Mississippi after capturing St. Louis.

¹⁰ Thomas Jefferson to Joseph Martin. Clark Papers, 385.

The third detachment, assembled by Detroit officials, was to amuse Clark at the falls of the Ohio. One of the subsidiary forces was to advance by way of the Illinois River, while a second was ordered to "watch the plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi."

The attack on St. Louis and the Illinois villages was entrusted by Gov. Sinclair, of Mackinac, to Capt. Emanuel Hesse. His command, made up of 950 British regulars, traders, and Indians, was assembled at the junction of the Mississippi and the Wisconsin. Conspicuous among the Menominee, Sauk, Fox, Winnebago, and Ottawa warriors was a body of 200 Sioux braves under the leadership of Wabasha, their illustrious chief. While the capture of Gov. Hamilton had weakened the hold of the British on the northwestern tribes, the Sioux, as stated by Sinclair, were "undebauched, addicted to war, and jealously attached to His Majesty's interest." Warned of the approach of the enemy, the Spaniards had so strengthened their defenses at St. Louis that the first assault was repulsed. Meantime Clark had reached Cahokia in response to the appeals for his immediate presence from De Leyba, the Spanish governor, and from Col. Montgomery. After a short skirmish at Cahokia the British retreated in two divisions, one up the Mississippi and the other to Mackinac. Two retaliatory expeditions were sent in pursuit, but the enemy made good his escape. The villages of the Sauk and Foxes on the Rock River were destroyed by the Americans. It is impossible to determine the reasons for the British retreat. Clark claimed that it was due to the presence of himself and his men. The British pointed to the treachery of some of their Indian leaders and to the lack of spirit on the part of the Canadians.¹¹ Gen. Campbell evidently made no effort to leave Pensacola.

The third expedition was quite as striking a failure. For weeks Maj. De Peyster lavished what his superiors characterized as "amazing sums" on the "over-indulgence" of the tribes tributary to Detroit in order to enlist them for the expedition against the falls of the Ohio.¹² This, if successful, would cut the American communication with the East, force the surrender of the Illinois posts, and reduce the Kentucky settlements.¹³ With a well-equipped force of 1,100, 1,000 of them being Indians, Capt. Henry Bird, one of the best types of British leaders, descended the Miami to the Ohio. Notwithstanding his possession of two pieces of light artillery, he determined not to hazard an attack on the fort at the falls. Learning

¹¹ Wisconsin Historical Collections, XI, 154.

¹² Gen. Haldimand stated the amount to be £64,030. The appearance of such drafts, he wrote, "in so regular and such quick succession lead me to reflect on their fatal consequences to the Nation." Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 409, 634, 636.

¹³ Testimony of Cols. Thomas Marshall and James Knox before the commissioners to adjust the claims of Virginia against the United States, Nov. 16, 1787. Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives.

of the arrival of reinforcements from Virginia and that the other expeditions had failed, he turned toward Detroit after destroying Ruddels and Martins stations, two small Kentucky stockaded posts. So rapidly did they retreat that they abandoned their cannon at one of the Miami villages.

At no time in his career did Clark show his capacity for leadership to a better advantage. No obstacle could deter him from the determination to deliver such a stroke as would prevent any like attempt on the part of the enemy. The rapidity with which he advanced to his goal was not unlike the drive toward Vincennes in the February days of the preceding year. Learning of the designs of Capt. Bird, he set out from Cahokia with a few men for Fort Jefferson, and after barely escaping capture by the Indians, struck off through the wilderness with only two companions for Harrodsburg. In spite of protests from the crowd of investors in land, he closed the doors of the land office until the end of the campaign, and by August 1, seven weeks from the time of his leaving Cahokia, 1,000 volunteers had responded to his order to assemble at the mouth of the Licking River. After a forced march, they reached Old Chillicothe, but the Indians had fled. At Piqua, a few miles beyond, a well-built town with a block-house, the Americans overtook and attacked several hundred Indians, and after a fierce engagement forced them to retreat. No effort was made at pursuit. After burning the towns, Clark led his troops to the mouth of the Licking, where they disbanded. In this campaign of a month they had marched 480 miles, and so successful was the effort that during the remainder of the year the Kentucky settlements were freed from serious molestation.

By Christmas time Clark was in Richmond consulting with the authorities over plans for taking Detroit. Such an expedition would serve to prevent the promised advance of the British, of which there were again unmistakable signs. Inspired by the more aggressive policy of Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and George Mason, leaders in the House of Delegates, Clark's instructions provided for an advance of 2,000 men with the ultimate object of reducing Detroit and acquiring Lake Erie. If successfully carried out, so argued Gov. Jefferson, this expedition would insure peace on the whole frontier and create an extensive area for commercial expansion; and in the event of peace would "form to the American Union a barrier against the dangerous extension of the British Province of Canada and add to the Empire of Liberty an extensive and fertile country." At the opening of the year 1781, therefore, there was no evidence of final territorial demands extending over an area less than the whole Northwest. Besides, Washington promised contributions from the continental stores for this object, which he

declared he had constantly borne in mind, believing that the reduction of Detroit "would be the only means of giving peace and security to the whole western frontier."

For the first time, a complete military organization for the West was completed, by making Clark brigadier general of the forces which were "to be embodied on an expedition westward of the Ohio."¹⁴ At no time during the Revolution was there a more striking example of military inefficiency on the part of both the general Government and of Virginia. Almost six weeks were wasted by Congress and the Board of War in collecting the promised supplies for the western expedition, and there was a delay of two weeks at one point between Philadelphia and Fort Pitt in order to make new kegs for the transportation of the powder. The time of necessary waiting at Pittsburgh might well have disheartened any leader. Drafting troops, under Virginia military laws, was a failure and Gov. Jefferson was forced to resort to the call for volunteers. Col. Brodhead, commanding officer at Fort Pitt, refused to grant permission for 200 regulars to go on the expedition and finally, early in August, Clark set out down the Ohio with 400 regulars and volunteers, a force scarcely adequate to guard the boats which contained supplies for fully 2,000 men. But plans had been agreed upon at Pittsburgh, which provided for an expedition against the Wyandot early in September under Col. Gibson, while Clark was to advance against the Shawnee. Once more Clark's activities had served as a defense to the frontier. Detroit was put into condition for withstanding this attack and Indian demands at that post increased "amazingly."¹⁵

Clark's arrival at Louisville was opportune, for never was there a prospect so gloomy for the fate of the West. While Fort Nelson was completed, as he had directed, Fort Jefferson had been evacuated and there was a prospect that the Americans would be compelled to abandon Vincennes, where there was still a garrison of 60 men.¹⁶ Preparations for the promised expedition against Detroit had been made by Kentucky officials under the most adverse conditions, for the credit of Virginia throughout the West was worthless. During the winter and spring the Kentucky settlements had been devastated by a succession of Indian raids and there were well-founded rumors that an army was to be sent against them from Detroit. By order of the Virginia Assembly, the expedition against that post was postponed.

¹⁴ Draper Manuscript Collections, 51 J 18. This commission was granted under the authority of Gov. Jefferson.

¹⁵ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 465.

¹⁶ Fort Jefferson was finally evacuated in June, 1781. Some of the garrison went to Vincennes. Clark Papers, 585.

In council with his officers and the three Kentucky County lieutenants early in September, Clark still clung to his determination to march against the Indians by the way of the Wabash or the Miami and then to Detroit. But his advisers deemed the force available, some 700 men, inadequate for such an expedition. While insisting on the maintenance of the garrison at the falls, they likewise recommended that a fort should be built at the mouth of the Kentucky, and urged the assembling of a strong force for the reduction of Detroit the next spring. Clark still advocated an expedition up the Wabash against the Indian tribes among whom the British emissaries seemed to be most strongly intrenched. He saw in such a move the capture of Detroit and the possession of Lake Erie; control of the savages and preservation of the Kentucky settlements; retention of power over the Illinois, both Spanish and American, and ultimate influence on the terms of peace.¹⁷ It is probable he had in his possession at the time the message from Col. Arthur Campbell, written a month earlier, in which he stated that peace would probably be declared within a few months. This letter outlined the general situation, with Washington carrying on operations against New York; with Greene nearly in control of the two Southern States that were the preceding winter occupied by the enemy; and with Galvez in possession of Pensacola. It concludes with language strikingly resembling that of Benjamin Franklin to Lord Shelburne in the peace preliminaries seven months and a half later: "I wish we could carry our arms to the banks of Lake Erie, before a cessation would take place; to attempt it farther might be risking too much. For Canada confined to its ancient limits may serve our present turn: altho' every true American must acknowledge the advantages that would accrue could Canada be added to the Union."¹⁸ By order of Gov. Harrison, Clark was directed to garrison the falls of the Ohio, the mouth of the Kentucky, the mouth of the Licking, and the mouth of Limestone Creek. Two gunboats were to be built for each post, which should be used to patrol the Ohio and prevent any Indian bands from crossing.¹⁹ Such defense, it was argued, would enable the inhabitants to protect themselves against the incursions of the enemy and occasionally to attack them.²⁰ These garrisons were to be manned by regulars and militia consisting of 100 men at the falls and 68 at each of the other posts. The carrying out of these measures was dependent upon the generosity of the people themselves supported by the promise that any debts

¹⁷ Clark to Gov. Nelson, Oct. 1, 1781. Clark Papers, 605-608.

¹⁸ Col. Arthur Campbell to Clark, Sept. 3, 1871. Clark Papers, 595. Col. Campbell was stationed at Washington, Pa.

¹⁹ Benjamin Harrison. Letter Book, 1781, 13-15. Virginia State Archives.

²⁰ Journal of the Virginia House of Delegates, Dec. 15, 1781, 35.

contracted for the purpose should be met by the first means available and that there was every expectation of punctuality.²¹ The troops under Clark were poorly prepared for the service they were expected to render. For two years, many of them had served without receiving any pay, and during that time had been given neither shoes, nor stockings, nor a hat, and at times they were forced to exist on half rations.²² But their condition was no worse than that of soldiers in the regular Virginia line.

During the fall and winter, British authorities renewed their efforts to gain control of all the Northwestern tribes, for Clark's preparations, his evasive answers to their inquiries, and messages to the enemy had caused more than one-half of the tribes to make overtures for peace.²³ Typical of these reports, was one to the court at Kaskaskia, early in December, a call for the thorough enforcement of the laws, in which Clark asserted that peace was shortly to be expected since Cornwallis with his entire army had surrendered and that Clinton had lost 3,000 men. "Charleston," he declared, "is besieged and I think by this time it has surrendered with all the English troops; so that there will scarcely remain an Englishman on the continent except those who are prisoners." Immense treasure was granted the savages and discipline was relaxed, for, as stated by one of the officials, Indians must be used to prevent the inroads of the Virginians and must be "delicately managed to prevent their favoring those rebels."²⁴ Late in February, chiefs of the Shawnee, Wyandot, Delawares and 10 other tribes, assembled at Detroit.²⁵ They were instructed to make no attack, particularly on Kentucky, until toward spring. As a feint, small parties were sent forward to steal horses and commit minor depredations, thus keeping settlers off their guard until the coming of the main expedition which was to capture Fort Nelson and the other posts and at a single blow lay waste the whole frontier. Promise for the success of the plan was greater because of the arrival at Detroit of Rocheblave, Lamothe and other captured leaders all anxious to retrieve their former disasters by recapturing the Illinois country and Vincennes.²⁶ Early in February, the most exposed settlements of Kentucky and Virginia were surprised and a number of prisoners were captured.

Fully aware that the task was the most difficult he had ever undertaken, Clark pushed his preparations vigorously for foiling the

²¹ Benjamin Harrison, Letter Book, 1781, pp. 82, 83.

²² Capt. Robert Todd to the Virginia Council, Dec. 11, 1781. Executive Papers, Virginia State Archives.

²³ Col. John Floyd to Col. William Preston, January, 1782. Draper Manuscript Collections, Shane Manuscript, XVI, 37.

²⁴ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 548.

²⁵ Butterfield, Washington-Irvine Correspondence, 90, 91.

²⁶ Plan submitted by Lamothe, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 569-572.

main attack of the enemy, which it was understood would be directed against Fort Nelson. "If we should be so fortunate as to repel this invasion without too great a loss to ourselves," he wrote while strengthening the various means for defense, "the Indians will all scatter to their different countries and give a fair opportunity for a valuable stroke to be made among them."²⁷

Assuming a part of the expense himself, Clark gave special attention to the construction of four armed galleys with the design of using them to control the navigation of the Ohio at the mouth of the Miami. Spies and scouting parties were constantly engaged on the various trails leading to the settlements in order to prevent possible surprise.²⁸ By the end of May one of the boats with a 73-foot keel was completed, having bullet-proof gunwales 4 feet high and false gunwales which could be raised in case of attack.²⁹ When completely equipped it was to be manned with 110 men and was to carry a six-pounder, two fours, and a two-pounder. The obstacles in carrying out defensive measures were continuous. Militia ordered on duty at Fort Nelson refused to march.³⁰ A company of 38 men serving on the row-galley deserted even after unusual concessions had been accorded them.³¹ The regiment of defense could not be sent, for it was found their services would be necessary in guarding the coast.³² Added to the general confusion and lack of discipline incident to the fear of attack, there was a spirit of insurgency on the part of certain leaders born of the desire to form an independent state and calculated to produce disaffection and an evasion of duty.

But conditions at Detroit were little more assuring. Clark's preparations had in the usual fashion been magnified by the authorities. It was reported that he was about to march with a large army for the capture of that post. To add to their alarm and confusion, the first news reached them, in early April, of the surrender of Cornwallis, and it was rumored that the Iroquois were intending to make peace with the Americans.³³ There was no hope for assistance from Montreal, for the British authorities were in expectation that such troops as could be spared would be needed to go to the defense of Gen. Clinton at New York. While directing that effort should be made to render Detroit safe, Gen. Haldimand, in anticipation of the importance of holding that post should peace ensue, ordered the collection of sufficient provisions to enable the garrison to withstand a formidable assault.

²⁷ Clark Manuscript. Virginia State Library.

²⁸ Draper Manuscript, 52 J 2.

²⁹ Executive Papers, Oct., 1782. Virginia State Library.

³⁰ Draper Manuscript, 52 J 10.

³¹ Ibid., 52 J 25.

³² Benjamin Harrison, Letter Book, 178, pp. 82, 83. Virginia State Library.

³³ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 565, 566.

The advance of Col. William Crawford from Fort Pitt, at the head of 480 mounted men, against the Wyandot and Shawnee villages, on the Sandusky, was regarded as the advance guard of this American army. Scouts reported his plans at Detroit before the march was actually begun, and Indian spies followed their every movement.³⁴ Three days longer than necessary were consumed by Crawford in the march. Meantime Col. De Peyster, at Detroit, while keeping careful watch for Clark's expected advance up the Wabash, dispatched Capt. Caldwell with a company of rangers, volunteers, and Lake Indians to the defense of the Indian towns.³⁵ Strengthened by accessions of Wyandot and Delaware warriors they encountered the Americans on the afternoon of June 4. In the battle which ensued there was little gain on either side. The following day a party of 140 Shawnee joined Caldwell, and Crawford began a hurried retreat which soon turned into a hopeless rout.

In the midst of the general consternation caused by Crawford's defeat, the savages appeared in numbers on the upper Ohio and advanced some distance along the main traveled road beyond Fort Pitt.³⁶ The settlers who did not escape to the forts were murdered or captured, crops were destroyed and stock driven away. Frontiersmen who had sustained the greatest losses through Crawford's defeat urged retaliation and besought Gen. Irvine to lead them on such an expedition. They offered to raise 1,000 militia and equip them with horses and provisions.³⁷ In planning another campaign against the Sandusky villages, Irvine, who lacked confidence in volunteers, proposed to send 100 regulars as a nucleus for the force of nearly one thousand men. He was the more confident of success, for Clark had promised cooperation by advancing against the Shawnee.

Gen. De Peyster early received intelligence of this movement which he rightly interpreted as a concerted plan for the capture of Detroit. The defenses were strengthened and a gunboat was stationed at the mouth of the Miami.³⁸ Messages were forwarded to Capts. Caldwell and McKee, who were at Sandusky, and to Capt. Brandt, who intended to attack Wheeling, directing them to act solely on the defensive. Eleven hundred Indians, the greatest single body of savages mustered during the Revolution, had been brought together for the attack on Wheeling. While marching in that direction, they were overtaken by Shawnee messengers implor-

³⁴ *Ibid.*, X, 574, 575, 577.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, X, 575. Col. De Peyster wrote, May 14, 1782: "It will, however, not be prudent to weaken this garrison much more till I am satisfied that Mr. Clark is not meditating a stroke at this settlement."

³⁶ Washington-Irvine Correspondence, 171, 250, 383, 391, note.

³⁷ Draper Manuscript Collections, I AA 231-259.

³⁸ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 625-627.

ing them to return for the protection of their towns against an attack by Clark. The alarm had grown out of the appearance of the armed row-galley at the mouth of the Licking. Most of the Indians refused to go farther, but Caldwell and McKee, not satisfied with an expedition so barren of results, determined to invade Kentucky. With 300 Wyandot and Lake Indians and a small number of Detroit rangers, they crossed the Ohio and on the night of August 15, appeared before Bryans Station, the northernmost settlement of Fayette County. This post was successfully defended. Three days later, the retreating Indians, upon reaching the ford of the Licking at the Blue Licks, were attacked by a force of mounted Kentuckians led by John Todd, Daniel Boone, and other well-known leaders. The outcome of this hastily conceived affair proved disastrous to the whites who lost 90 men, fully one-half of their numbers engaged.

There was general despair in all of the frontier communities. A similar stroke, it was believed, would not only lead to the destruction of the Kentucky settlements, but would bring the savage forces in large numbers against the more interior counties of Virginia and the Carolinas. Families threatened to leave the country unless protection should be sent them. Numerous petitions to the governor and legislature called for interposition on their behalf. Other inhabitants petitioned Congress to be taken under its protection. Criticism of Clark was widespread for failing to establish other fortified posts in addition to Fort Nelson, which was held to be so far to the west that it offered no protection against the inroads of the enemy. Stirred by these messages, Gov. Harrison rebuked Clark for neglect in carrying out orders for the establishment of the posts, which would have prevented, he said, such a disaster.

But Clark held himself blameless for the situation in the West. The falls of the Ohio, he insisted, was of first consideration, and the completion of Fort Nelson had, he believed, saved the western country. Despairing of capturing so formidable a post, the enemy had divided their forces and sent one expedition to fall on the Kentucky settlements. That these posts had been surprised, he maintained, was due to a lack of foresight in not keeping scouting parties constantly employed, as had been ordered. He characterized the conduct of the leaders at the Blue Licks as "extremely reprehensible," due to an attempt to offset their former neglect of duty. Meantime, advances had been made by Clark to put into operation the complete plans for fortifications. After strengthening Fort Nelson he proposed to construct a fort at the mouth of the Licking. County officials refused to assist in furnishing men and supplies, and his own force, growing daily smaller because of desertions due to the

failure to receive necessary food and clothing, was too small to garrison the additional posts. Another advance by the enemy, which was expected, would, he asserted, make their labor useless.³⁹

Early in September Capt. Caldwell was again at the upper Sandusky, where he awaited the coming of the expedition from Fort Pitt. Runners were dispatched to Detroit and to the other posts, urging that reinforcements should be sent at once to his relief. At the time, owing to sickness among the rangers, his defense was dependent almost wholly upon the Indians. Detroit officials, anticipating that Capt. Caldwell would be forced to retreat before so formidable an enemy and that the Shawnee would be unable to withstand an attack by Clark, prepared a second defense which would cover the retreat to Detroit.⁴⁰ As usual, Maj. De Peyster, overcome with fear at the approach of the enemy, was ready to sacrifice his allies, and wrote Capt. McKee as follows: "By the accounts of their force, in the present sickly state of the Rangers, and the Indians being so much distressed, I fear you will be obliged to retreat at least until you are joined by the Miamies. I have sent all the Indians I could muster, particularly the Ottawas of the Miami River. . . . You must be sensible that my soldiers are little acquainted with wood fighting and ill equipped for it withall. I have therefore only ordered them to take post where they can secure the ammunition and provisions and support you in case you are obliged to retreat, which I hope will still not be the case."⁴¹

During September and October preparations were made for a cooperative campaign, in which Gen. Irvine was to advance with 1,200 men against Sandusky, and Clark was to attack the Shawnee strongholds. Nine hundred men were to be sent, also, against the Genesee towns.⁴² Kentuckians quickly responded to Clark's call for a retaliatory expedition. Parched meal, buffalo meat, and venison were soon collected, but other supplies were gotten together with great difficulty. The credit of the State was worthless, and creditors, who had already advanced all of their property, were at the time beseeching Clark to aid them in the adjustment of their claims. "If I was worth the money," he wrote, "I would most cheerfully pay it myself and trust the State, But can assure you with truth that I am entirely Reduced myself by advancing Everything I could Raise, and except what the State owes me am not worth a Spanish dollar. I wish it was in my power to follow your proposition to step forth and save my country from the disgrace that is like to fall on

³⁹ Clark Manuscript, Virginia State Archives, Nov. 30, 1782.

⁴⁰ Maj. De Peyster to Gen. Haldimand, Sept. 29, 1782. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, X, 651.

⁴¹ Oct. 1, 1782. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, X, 651.

⁴² Washington-Irvine Correspondence, 181, 182.

her."⁴³ He finally exchanged 3,500 acres of his own land for the flour necessary for the expedition.

By November 1 the two divisions of troops reached the mouth of the Licking, the appointed place of rendezvous. Col. Floyd, in charge of one division, consisting of regulars from Fort Nelson and militia from the western Kentucky stations, ascended the Ohio with the artillery, while the other section, commanded by Col. Logan, marched from the eastern settlements. On the 4th of November 1,050 mounted men, with Clark in command, set out for Chillicothe, the Shawnee stronghold. Rigid discipline was maintained during the march of six days. A plan of attack had been worked out by Clark in minute detail. Three miles from the town Col. Floyd was dispatched with 300 men to make the attack, but his approach was discovered, and warned by the alarm cry the inhabitants made good their escape. Chillicothe and five other Shawnee villages were burned and large quantities of corn and other provisions were destroyed.⁴⁴ Col. Logan with a detachment of 150 men captured the British trading post at the head of the Miami and burned such stores as they were unable to carry away with them. After vainly attempting for four days to bring on a general engagement, Clark returned with his troops to the mouth of the Licking, where the divisions again separated.

This stroke constituted the final aggressive movement in Clark's offensive-defensive policy. It demonstrated the wisdom displayed in selecting Fort Nelson as a base for such operations. From this post it was possible for Clark to reach Vincennes or Kaskaskia in a much shorter time than it could have been accomplished by the British and their allies, for the knowledge of such advances was uniformly imparted to him. Moreover, the warriors of the tribes on the Scioto and the Miami, chief dependence of the British, could not have been induced to engage in such an expedition and leave their villages exposed to attack by an enemy so readily brought against them.

By this blow Clark had not only saved the frontier settlements from danger of attack, but he had offset the designs of British authorities to bring about a union of the northwestern and southwestern tribes. This plan, closely akin to that of 1781, was well calculated to win the support of the Indians, for it promised the advance of a large force from Detroit against Fort Pitt, the capture in succession of that post, Fort Nelson, and the other Kentucky posts and the retaking of the Illinois territory. In this manner Ken-

⁴³ Clark to Oliver Pollock, Oct. 25, 1782. (Clark MSS., Va. State Lib.)

⁴⁴ According to one report, 10,000 bushels of corn was destroyed. Virginia State Papers, III, 383. Ten Indians were killed and seven were made prisoners. Clark's loss was one man killed and one wounded.

tuckians, it was said, would be driven across the mountains, and "the other inhabitants into the sea."⁴⁵ The Indians were panic-stricken. Their winter supplies were destroyed and the policy of retrenchment on the part of British officials, due in part to the high prices fixed by monopolies, cut down the quantities of presents.⁴⁶ As interpreted by the Indians, this was a step toward their complete abandonment to the conquerors.⁴⁷ In fact, further demands by the Indians for protection from Detroit were refused.

From this review of events up to the close of 1782, it is seen that Clark had extended the radius of menace toward Detroit and had thrown the enemy into utmost confusion. Sickness still pervaded the ranks of the rangers. Regulars, it was claimed, were not suitable nor were they equipped for a winter campaign. Said Maj. De Peyster: "The few Rangers at the Post prevents my doing anything essential for the relief of the Indian villages, it is therefore to be hoped that when the enemy have done all the mischief possible they will retire."⁴⁸ He was aware that the road to Detroit was open and he fully expected an attack would be made by the Americans in the spring. Indian leaders were again ordered to act solely on the defensive. In demanding reinforcements, De Peyster declared: "Light troops are therefore what we want, and believe me there will be amusement for a good number of them the ensuing campaign without acting on the offensive." So effectively had Clark carried out his policy of intimidating the Indians that, as stated by Boone: "The spirits of the Indians were damped, their connexions dissolved, their armies scattered and a future invasion [was] entirely out of their power."⁴⁹

Messengers sent by Irvine informed Clark that the expedition against Sandusky was certain, but as they were about to set out from Fort McIntosh, the place of rendezvous, letters were received from the Continental Secretary of War countermanding the order.⁵⁰ Washington had been assured, on British authority, that all hostilities were suspended and that the savages were directed to commit no further depredations. Reports were still sent out by Irvine, however, that he was about to march with a large force toward Sandusky. These were well calculated to deceive the Wyandot and prevent their cooperation with the Shawnee against Clark.

⁴⁵ Clark Manuscript, Virginia State Library, Feb. 2 and 25, 1783.

⁴⁶ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XI, 320, 321.

⁴⁷ Executive Papers, Virginia State Archives, Feb. 25, 1783.

⁴⁸ Maj. De Peyster to Gen. Haldimand, Nov. 21, 1782. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XI, 321, 322.

⁴⁹ Testimony of Daniel Boone before a Committee of Investigation, Dec. 20, 1787. State Department Manuscripts, Bureau of Indexes and Archives.

⁵⁰ Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 398. Draper Manuscript Collections, 52 J 55.

Combatant and noncombatant alike at Detroit and all of the other posts awaited the passing of winter with anxious foreboding. British officials fully expected the coming of the Americans at the earliest possible date with the design of extending their frontier in the Northwest as far as possible, and thus, in the event of peace, of securing control of the fur-trade.⁵¹ Clark's threats to march against other unfriendly tribes as he had against the Shawnee increased the turmoil among the Indians.

Clark likewise beheld the coming of spring with apprehension. He appealed to the commissioners to assist him in strengthening the defenses. Once more he urged the importance of Fort Nelson as the "key to the country." As a protection to the eastern Kentucky settlements, he again advocated the construction of one or more forts farther up the river. To complete his plan for foiling the enemy would necessitate, he said, the embodiment of 1,500 troops which were to march against the Indian stronghold at the head of the Wabash. In this way, he proposed to convince the Indians that their very existence depended upon preserving peace with the Americans.⁵² A garrison of regular troops was to be stationed at Vincennes with supplies sufficient to equip a force which might be brought together at any time for the purpose of penetrating "into any Quarter of the Enemy's Country at pleasure."

No further effort was made to carry out these plans, for by the middle of April official announcement of the peace preliminaries and the cessation of hostilities had been sent to the frontier settlements. The proclamation of a general peace soon followed.

⁵¹ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XI, 351.

⁵² Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, XI, 336.

XII. SEPARATISM IN UTAH, 1847-1870.

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SEPARATISM IN UTAH, 1847-1870.

By FRANKLIN D. DAINES.

The independent and sometimes even defiant attitude assumed by colonies of the United States toward the mother country and its Government is attributed to various causes—the American instinct for local self-government, remoteness, difficulty of communication, frontier life, slowness of the Central Government in extending control and protection, and so on. All of the causes mentioned were in operation in the Utah colony, and will be taken for granted in this discussion.

But among the Utah pioneers there were other and very powerful forces tending in the same direction. The importance of these forces in shaping events in the colony, in making Utah history different from that of any other modern community, has never been sufficiently set forth, and I think I am justified in saying that with the lively interest being taken in the story of the winning of the far West the time has come for historians to begin to understand one of the most interesting of its chapters. My contention is that the chaotic state of Utah history is due to a great extent to writers paying too much attention to polygamy and other matters and too little attention to the forces referred to. It was as a protest, then, against the prevailing tendency that I chose the subject of this paper.

It is my purpose to indicate something of the nature of the light that might be thrown on the subject by an examination of this point of view of the people of Utah Territory in its early period, as found in Mormon publications.¹ In these publications we find numerous sermons, editorials, and communications of Brigham Young and other leaders of the Mormon people, preached and written at a time when these leaders were exceptionally free in expressing through the press their thoughts. This freedom of expression, it might be observed, itself is an indication of the independent attitude assumed toward the world by these same leaders.

To begin with, it is important to remember that the Mormon people settled in Utah because their institutions and beliefs and experiences had already made them an exclusive people. We should then understand something of these.

¹ Principally, *Deseret News*, weekly, 1850-1867; after that a daily; *Millennial Star*, monthly, 1840- ; *Journal of Discourses*, published every year, 1853 to 1880.

In the first place, the highly efficient governmental organization of the Mormon church had already been constructed.² The claim is often made that this organization is the most perfect in the world except that of the German army.

In the second place, the claim of the head of the church that he possessed the divine right to direct in all things spiritual and temporal had been made under the régime of Joseph Smith and exercised without reserve.

Again, the Mormons had already had considerable experience in managing the affairs of a state within a state. The charter of the city of Nauvoo was, perhaps, the most liberal city charter given by a State government, that is, liberal in the powers conferred.³ The Mormons in Nauvoo had almost full control over all governmental affairs, including the use of a military arm. In elections they had always voted practically as a unit.

Another thing that contributed to exclusiveness was the belief in continuous revelation. This belief met with severe criticism on the part of other sects and hence caused antagonism to arise. But perhaps of greater consequence was the effect on the Mormons themselves. They believed not only in continuous Divine revelation, but also in continuous satanic revelation. To them, the devil, realizing that the time was not far off when he was to be bound, was making a last desperate stand. The intense realism of this belief produced a very strong tendency to regard all opposition as being Satan's work, all opponents, accordingly, as Satan's coworkers directly inspired by him. Other people, of course, have had such beliefs, but it is seldom, if ever, in modern times, that we find the belief so realistic and intense.⁴ The difficulty of attributing sincerity to an opponent was thus augmented and the resulting concrete reactions to this, sanctified by religion.

Another contributing cause, perhaps more important than any before considered, was the manner of the exodus to Utah. No people, it is safe to say, had ever a stronger feeling of outraged innocence than the followers of Brigham Young when he led them from civilization to the wilds of western America. It matters not whether they were to blame, or how much they were to blame, for the fate that overtook them in the States of the Middle West. The saints in general had not the slightest doubt that as a class no guilt attached to them. For those who take the view that these were the sinners and not the sinned against, or for those who hold that both the Mormons and their opponents were in the wrong, it need

² That is, in its main outlines. Brigham Young made some changes.

³ For the Nauvoo charter see "Times and Seasons," for Jan. 14, 1841.

⁴ For one out of hundreds of statements to this effect see "Journal of Discourses," V, 72.

not be difficult to attribute to the Mormons perfect sincerity in believing in their own innocence. The phenomenon is familiar enough. In group conflicts while they last, it is impossible to place the responsibility for initiative aggression, and the instinct of self-preservation causes a distortion of motives and actions; witnesses the present conflict. And in the last stages of the conflict between the Mormons and their enemies at Nauvoo, they were, without question, treated in an inhuman and barbarous manner. A reading of Mormon literature in the period under consideration will reveal the fact that the dread of similar doings was the chief moving force in all their actions toward opponents.⁵

In the attitude of mind indicated by the foregoing considerations, the Mormons, unable to live with their neighbors and keep the distinguishing features of their religion, sought an asylum where there were none to trouble but the savage Indian and wild beasts. As Brigham Young explained shortly after his arrival in Salt Lake City, wherever they had gone they had not been the first settlers, and hence had been looked upon as intruders. Now the time had come for them to be the first settlers and they could say to troublesome neighbors, if any they should have, "we were here first, if you do not like us you have the privilege of leaving." "If they will let us alone 10 years," he said, "I'll ask no odds of them."

Utah was chosen, then, as a refuge, in preference to Oregon or California, because the saints wanted to be left to themselves until they would be so strong they need fear no mobs. It was chosen because it was unoccupied and because it was too uninviting to be soon desired by others. It can not then be wondered at, that after this desolate-looking country had been redeemed to some extent from its wild state, it would be looked upon by its redeemers as in a peculiar manner belonging to them, as having been set aside by their God as a resting place for his afflicted people to gather where the wicked would cease from troubling and where the weary would be at rest.

In referring to a few of the incidents of Utah history from 1847 to 1870, it will be well to repeat the significant words of Brigham Young, quoted before: "If they will let us alone for 10 years I shall ask no odds of them." The Mormon leader thus in July, 1847, had set himself the task of making his people so strong, numerically and otherwise, that physical force could never more be used against them; and he believed that a certain period of isolation was necessary while their strength was being recruited. That this was no passing thought

⁵ See "Memorial from the members and officers of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah to the President and Congress of the United States," in *Deseret News*, VII, 356, for a good statement of this point of view.

⁶ See "Whitney, History of Utah," I, 334.

of his to be forgotten as soon as expressed, is shown by the fact that exactly 10 years from the day Salt Lake City was founded he recalled his words to mind and declared the desired result had been attained.⁷

For two years after the advent of the pioneers in the Great Basin, they had no need to consider any problems connected with the establishment of civil government, nor any problem concerning their immediate intercourse with other people except with a few travelers going through the settlements. The organization and institutions of the church met all requirements. For a lawmaking power there was the edict of Brigham Young. For courts they had a complete system—bishops' courts corresponding to justice courts, a high council corresponding to a county court, and the first presidency corresponding to a county court.⁸ For a law-executing arm there was the same military organization they had in Nauvoo, and still called the Nauvoo Legion.⁹ For revenue they had church tithes and offerings.

In these two years the foundations were laid for the future economic prosperity of the saints, and the policy of territorial expansion peculiar to the Mormons was inaugurated. With respect to this policy we need to make some explanation. The Mormons might have expanded gradually as pressure of population would demand. But that would not serve their purpose as well as a rapid settlement of strategic points within the limits marked out by Brigham Young for his empire. This empire took in what is now Utah, Nevada, most of New Mexico and Arizona, and parts of Colorado, Wyoming, and California; included a seacoast, the harbor of San Diego, and the freedom of the seas for a Mormon fleet.¹⁰ Too many immigrants were coming west to leave the most desirable places within this area unoccupied if the saints wanted to be the first settlers.

By 1849 it was apparent that some government recognized at Washington would soon be necessary. A Territorial government was first asked for, but soon the request was withdrawn and a petition for the admission into the Union of a State of Deseret was sent in its place. Between the request for a Territorial government and the withdrawal of the request the Mormon leaders received a letter from Col. Thomas L. Kane, a friend of the Mormon people at the time acting in their behalf in the East. Kane advised strongly against a Territorial government because of the likelihood of officers being appointed from outside the Territory. He had sounded President

⁷ Roberts, "History of Mormon Church," *Americana*, VIII, 765.

⁸ For Church Judiciary System see Roberts, *Outline of Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 378-381.

⁹ The Nauvoo Legion, as well as the system of courts, did not cease to be useful to Brigham Young in maintaining his authority after these first two years had gone by.

¹⁰ In the proposed constitution for the State of Deseret, Article III, sec. 3, is as follows: "The governor shall be commander in chief of the militia, navy, and all the armies of the State."

Polk as to the possibility of this and found him disposed to make such appointments.¹¹

Congress rejected the plea for Statehood and created a Territorial government in 1850. It, of course, took some time for this government to be inaugurated, and in the meantime the State of Deseret was flourishing. Its constitution was in the orthodox American style, and in actual operation did not differ materially from the theocracy of the first two years of the colony.¹²

In the appointments made by President Fillmore for the Territorial government, Brigham Young was governor, but three of the officials were non-Mormons from outside the Territory. From this time began friction between the people of the Territory and the United States Government. To understand the Mormon point of view in the conflicts that ensued we need to go back a little. Charges of disloyalty made then and since have been frequent and vociferous and as frequently and vigorously denied. The assertion that the Mormon leaders were disappointed in finding themselves still within the jurisdiction of the United States has been made and denied. Neither the assertion nor the denial is of any particular importance. When Brigham Young finally decided on settling in Utah he knew it was to be United States territory. It is also true that he had sent emissaries to England to negotiate for Vancouver Island.¹³ But in any case, whether into American, Mexican, or English territory the Mormons desired to go, they expected their stay there to be but a short sojourn in the wilderness. They were looking beyond this to a return to the promised land in Jackson County, Mo. The truth is that they expected local self-government in this brief exile wherever they were.

Moreover, the saints during their exodus and settlement in their new home were being constantly reminded that they would some day save the Constitution of the United States from destruction. Joseph Smith had taught that the Constitution was a document inspired by God and prophesied that one day it would hang by a thread and would be saved by the saints.

But they had drawn a sharp distinction between the Union and the Constitution, and those who had been at certain periods mismanaging, as it seemed to them, its affairs. In November, 1839, Joseph Smith made a journey to Washington to seek redress from the general Government for the treatment of the saints in Missouri. He had an interview with President Van Buren and six days later he wrote a letter to Hyrum Smith in which he quoted Van Buren as having

¹¹ B. H. Roberts, for the letter, in *Americana*, Dec., 1912, VII, 1148.

¹² For this Constitution, see *Millennial Star*, XII, 19 ff.

¹³ *Journal of Discourses*, V, 230-231.

answered his appeal for help by saying, "What can I do? I can do nothing for you. If I do anything I shall come in contact with the whole State of Missouri."¹⁴ In some way this statement of the limitation of the power of the general Government became changed into something far different. Many thousands of times Van Buren has been quoted as saying, "Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you. If I take up for you I shall lose the vote of the State of Missouri."¹⁵

The Mormons, then, held the general Government responsible, as a partner, to all their wrongs and imagined wrongs in Missouri,¹⁶ and later, because the Government did not interfere or bring to justice the slayers of their leaders in Illinois, they blamed it for all that happened to them in that State.¹⁷ For several years after the settlement of Utah this adverse opinion toward the Government was sedulously encouraged by the Mormon leaders. Brigham Young said in a discourse of September, 1857:

There can not be a more damnable dastardly order issued than was issued by the administration to this people while they were in Indian country in 1846. Before we left Nauvoo, not less than two United States Senators came to receive a pledge from us that we would leave the United States, and then, while we were doing our best to leave their borders, the poor, low, degraded cusses sent a requisition for 500 of our men to go and fight their battles! That was President Polk; and he is now weltering in hell with Zachary Taylor, where the present administration will soon be if they do not repent.¹⁸

Brigham Young knew better than that, as has been shown by a prominent Mormon writer, Brigham H. Roberts, in his *History of the Mormon Church*.¹⁹ This remarkable statement was made at a time when Brigham Young had special reason for creating a sentiment hostile to the administration. He had learned a short time before of the approach of a United States army to Utah. But many statements of the same import, though usually less strong, were made before this, as well as after, by Brigham Young and other leaders who also knew better.

This brings up the question of the sincerity of the Mormon leaders. There have been attempts to drive a wedge between the Mormon people and their leaders in which the latter were accused of manipulating a credulous following to their own advantage. Those who have made these attempts did not understand either the people or their leaders. Although such deliberately misleading statements as the above have been made, I think it safe to say that Brigham

¹⁴ *Millennial Star*, XVII, 452.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 584-585. This shows that this was due to Joseph Smith himself, who a few months after wrote down from memory what he thought Van Buren had said.

¹⁶ See discourse by B. Young in *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 4 ff.

¹⁷ *Millennial Star*, XVII, 452.

¹⁸ *Journal of Discourses*, V, 231.

¹⁹ In *Americana* for March, 1912.

Young was as sincere as any of his followers in the belief and attitude of mind indicated in the forepart of this paper, and even in a belief in the proposition that the United States Government was satanically opposed to them.

If this stand is correct, then, this deliberate attempt to deceive the people becomes very important in understanding Brigham Young's purpose. He knew the value of opposition, and was trying to make the people strong and united by making them feel that "earth and hell" were trying to accomplish their ruin.

So much, then, for the United States Government as seen through the eyes of an inhabitant of Utah. The attitude toward the question of the right of that Government to send officials to rule there must next be considered. The Utah colonists were fully convinced that there was no warrant in right or in the Constitution for this. To them the right of a people to govern themselves did not cease when they crossed the boundary line of a State into a Territory.²⁰ The arguments used to support this contention were those used by other people in similar cases, of course, reinforced by the circumstances of the settlement of Utah.

Let us see some of the means used to substantiate this claim for the right of local self-government in the Territories.

In the organic act for the Territory, Congress left the Territorial legislature free to define the jurisdiction of the courts. The probate courts, the judges of which were appointed by the legislature, gave it a great opportunity. These courts were given, in the words of the act of 1852, "power to exercise original jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, and as well in chancery as at common law, when not prohibited by legislative enactment."²¹ Besides this, the offices of Territorial marshal, attorney general, and district attorneys were created to attend to all business before the courts when the Territory was concerned. By this maneuver, local self-government was complete except for annoyances caused by ambitious officials who tried to take part in what they considered their business and what the Mormons denied was their business.²²

These annoyances were met by counter-annoyances, and friction went on until, in 1857, the administration sent an army. Among these counter-annoyances were utterances of Mormon leaders disrespectful to high Government officials and other utterances regarded as treasonable in their nature. The quotation already given illustrates the disrespectful utterances, although spoken after the army was ordered to the Territory. A quotation from another discourse

²⁰ Desert News, Sept. 9, 1857, Discourse by H. C. Kimball; id., Sept. 2, Discourse by J. Taylor; id., Dec. 23, 1857, B. Young's Message.

²¹ See Bancroft, p. 487.

²² For boasts that Federal officials had no real power in Utah, see Deseret News, editorial, VII, pp. 244-245, and below.

of Brigham Young is an example of the so-called treasonable talk. In a sermon of August, 1856, he says: "After 26 years of faithful operation and exertion by our enemies, what have they accomplished? They have succeeded in making us an organized Territory, and they are determined to make us an independent State or government, as the Lord lives." (The congregation shouted, "Amen.") "I say as the Lord lives, we are bound to become a sovereign State in the Union, or an independent nation by ourselves."²³

The intense desire to be free even from annoyances is expressed by another Mormon leader in a discourse of March, 1854, as follows:

I wish we were in a situation favorable to our doing that which is justifiable before God, without any contaminating influence of Gentile amalgamation, laws, and traditions, that the people of God might lay the ax to the root of the tree.²⁴

What this leader wanted to be able to do is still more significant. He wanted to have the chance to put traitors to death. Traitors were, of course, apostates. The tendency of theocracies to regard heretics as traitors to the State was thus taking root.

In the beginning of the year 1857 the Utah legislature sent a "Memorial and resolutions to the President of the United States," in which Buchanan is told that if he did not make better appointments his officers would be sent back, and that, "we will resist any attempt of governmental officials to set at naught our Territorial laws, or to impose upon us those which are inapplicable and of right not in force in our Territory."²⁵

The Mormons thus were determined to be the judge of the qualifications for officers, and of their powers after appointment. Among the inapplicable laws they would not have, the common law of Great Britain was one.²⁶

Of course when President Buchanan listened too readily to prejudicial testimony of what was going on in the Territory, and sent an army to straighten things out instead of trying a compromise, he was too precipitate. I am inclined to favor the theory that Brigham Young would have agreed to the same compromise that was in the end agreed to, if Buchanan had not been too hasty. The essential thing about the compromise referred to was that another man was installed as nominal governor, and things went on in all essential respect the same as before. One result, however, of the fiasco was a more bitter feeling in the Territory, with no corresponding increase in respect felt for the Government. The people of the Territory

²³ Deseret News, VI, 219.

²⁴ Discourse by J. M. Grant, Mar. 12, 1854, quoted by Cradlebaugh in Utah and the Mormons. The discourse is doubtless in the Deseret News of about the date given.

²⁵ Deseret News, VII, 244-245.

²⁶ Ibid., 370, "Mass Meetings"; also Journal of Discourses, V. 72.

firmly believed that the sending of the army was a plot to murder their leaders and to destroy or scatter the rest of them. That the plot did not succeed was not attributed to the fact that it had not been in existence, but that in some miraculous manner they had been saved.²⁷

Such was the situation at the beginning of the Civil War. While the Southern States were trying to get out of the Union, the Mormon leaders were laying plans to make another of their numerous attempts to gain a place for Utah in the Union. This has often been cited as proof of the loyalty of the saints. It does not seem to have convinced Abraham Lincoln, for he kept Connor and his California volunteers in Utah to make sure of having there a loyal force.

The Mormons were certainly loyal to the Union in their way, but their way needs interpreting. As to the great sectional conflict itself, they aimed to maintain a neutrality in thought and deed, with a slight leaning in thought, perhaps, toward the South,²⁸ and in deed toward the North. They looked upon the struggle as an attempt to interfere, on the part of the people of the North, in something in which they had no right to interfere.²⁹ There was then, it was thought, a bond of sympathy between the Confederates and the people of Utah. The Unionists were trying to destroy the Constitution as much as were the Secessionists. The despised Mormons were hence the only loyalists.³⁰ Such were the statements made.

Another belief was that the war was a punishment on the Nation for the crime of rejecting the Gospel, slaying the prophets of God, and driving His people into the wilderness.³¹

One thing that greatly influenced the Mormons in their attitude was the prophecy of Joseph Smith, in which was a prediction of a civil war between the North and the South, to break out in South Carolina, resulting in war being "poured out upon all nations;"³² the conflict to continue until God "hath made a full end of all nations."

In 1862, a constitution for the State of Deseret was adopted, and upon the application for admission being rejected, the machinery for a State government was created and continued in operation for at least 6 years. Once a year "Governor" Young of the "State" of Deseret would read his message to the "State" legislature, which would solemnly re-enact the laws that had been passed by the Territorial legislature, and adjourn.³³ It is difficult to understand why.

²⁷ A statement to this effect is found in *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 12.

²⁸ *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 143; *ibid.*, 233 ff.

²⁹ *Id.*, IV, 39.

³⁰ *Millennial Star*, XXVII, 635; *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 7 ff.; *ibid.*, 155 ff.

³¹ *Millennial Star*, XXII, 50; XXX, 68; *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 55 ff.

³² *Millennial Star*, XXX, 41-43.

³³ See, for example, *Millennial Star*, XXVIII, 161.

In April, 1861, Heber C. Kimball, the second in authority in Utah, in a discourse, said:

We shall never secede from the Constitution of the United States. We shall not stop on the way of progress, but we shall make preparations for future events. The South will secede from the North, and the North will secede from us, and God will make this people free as fast as we are able to bear it. They send their poor miserable creatures to rule us. Why, it would be upon the same principle that this church and authority should send some poor cuss to rule me and my family in my own house. * * * But let me tell you the yoke is now off our neck, and it is on theirs, and the bow key is in. The day is not far distant when you will see us as free as the air we breathe. * * * President Young is our leader and has been ever since the death of Joseph the Prophet. He can govern this people with his hands in his pockets, and they are not governed one whit by the men that are sent here. * * * We are going to be ruled by our Father in heaven, and the agents He sends out and appoints for us, from this day henceforth and forever.²⁴

In November, 1867, the editor of the *Millennial Star* could write:

Politically the saints are a unit. * * * At mass meetings * * * delegates are chosen by unanimous vote to meet in a convention and select the names of individuals to fill the various offices. In case of any dispute or dubiety on the part of the convention the Prophet of God, who stands at the head of the church, decides. He nominates, the convention indorses, and the people accept the nominations. * * *

So in the Legislature itself. The utmost freedom of speech, free from abuse, is indulged in; but any measure that can not be unanimously decided on is submitted to the president of the church, who, by the wisdom of God, decides the matter. * * * Thus political union is secured, and the shameful displays of party spirit, recrimination, and pet schemes for individual or sectional aggrandizement * * * are, in Utah, things only to be despised.²⁵

It can be seen from these quotations, and many others that might be given, that the loyalty of the Utah colonists in the Civil War period was loyalty to an ideal Government, not then in existence, to be based on the Constitution of 1787.

In the later sixties the Federal officials in Utah were beginning to take a little more aggressive attitude, due to some extent to the presence in Salt Lake City of a group of non-Mormon merchants. Social ostracism of these officials seemed to be doomed shortly to disappear. The railroad was approaching the borders of Utah, and, although Brigham Young and the Mormons had been anxious for its coming, they undoubtedly began to be a little anxious about possible undesirable results that would follow in its path, such as the development of the mining resources of the Territory. A partial answer to the menace was a boycott of the merchants and the establishment of the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution. The

²⁴ Journal of Discourses, IX, 9 ff.

²⁵ For other statements of Mormon theocratic ideas, see Journal of Discourses, V, 228 ff.; *ibid.*, IX, 17; *ibid.*, 8 ff.; *Millennial Star*, XXIX, 744; *ibid.*, 730 ff.

objects of this movement were to get rid of the "outsiders," to develop a more perfect unity, which, of course, was to lead to the same result—more isolation, and to bring about a better distribution of wealth. I think the weight of the evidence in the matter supports the theory that isolation was the primary motive.

The excuse offered for this extraordinary procedure was that the merchants in question had not participated in the development of the Territory; were mere parasites in the community; were overcharging for their goods; and were in sympathy with, or were abettors of, those seeking to bring mobs against the saints. In a letter written March, 1867, Brigham Young, in referring to those merchants and the other "outsiders" in the community, said: "If they were as honest as they profess to be they would recognize the truth, and would give heed to the influence of the spirit of God. They who are not for us are against us."³⁶

Enough has been said, I trust, to give some indication of the interesting sociological study that awaits some free, unprejudiced, and otherwise qualified investigator. The surface has scarcely been scratched. When the full history of separatism in Utah is written, besides those indicated here, chapters will appear in it on the successful land monopoly obtained, the invention of a new way of writing the English language (called the Deseret alphabet), the question of the supposed "Danites" and blood atonement, the Mountain Meadow massacre, and many others.³⁷

³⁶ *Millennial Star*, XXIX, 267-268.

³⁷ For instance, Brigham Young's relation with the Indians; treatment of schismatic sects, such as the Morrisites; Brigham Young and the mining industry; telegraph and railroad building within the Territory; manufacturing industries developed for the purpose of securing local self-support; polygamy and the need for a greater population; polygamy as a means of securing exclusiveness; educational ideas and systems, etc.

XIII. A GENERATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY.

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A GENERATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY.

By WILLIAM A. DUNNING.

The American Historical Association was born in 1884. This was a generation ago, as men roughly reckon the stages in the life of the race. It has been suggested that this meeting might feel some interest in the consideration of what has been achieved in this generation in American historiography. The suggestion is attractive and plausible. When, however, one starts to act in accordance with it, there arise the usual troubles about the definition and limits of the field.

Historiography is a dignified and mouth-filling word. But what precisely does it mean? And in particular what does it mean for him who has to deal with thirty odd years of it in one-third of an hour? From its etymology the term is almost ridiculously simple. "History" means history, and "graphie" means writing; ergo, historiography means either the writing of history or the writing about history or the writing about the writing of history—which does not solve our problem at all. If the first sense be taken—though it is by no means the most logical or the universally accepted sense—we are confronted with the question, what is the difference, if any, between a historian and a historiographer? And is there any distinction, in form or in substance, between historiography and plain history? Must we dismiss as unworthy our instinctive conviction that the longer word connotes the greater dignity—that a man may become a historian by a single duodecimo volume, but may never get a footing in the sacred precincts of historiography on less than five volumes octavo, with a special library edition in calf with gilt top and uncut edges?

Then we have with us the perennial questions: Is a textbook historiography? Even a textbook so successful as to develop into a shelf-full of volumes through successive reincarnations adapted respectively to universities, colleges, high schools, eighth grades, seventh grades and so on down to the subkindergartens? And is a great collection of sources historiography? Even if the collector be a man of the utmost industry and detective genius, and the results of his labor of the utmost significance to our understanding of a people or an age? And is a doctoral dissertation historiography? Even if it is 800 large pages in bulk and covers as many as ten years in time?

The answers to these questions, and others that spring at once to the lips of every reflecting person, I shall not undertake to suggest. If a presumption as to the answers is derivable from what follows, the paper will not have been written in vain.

In a way the present appears a peculiarly favorable moment for reviewing the progress of historiography; for all our preoccupation just now is with what may be called in contrast "historiofficy." From every recruiting center in the land has issued the injunction, endlessly reiterated on the billboards, "Don't read history; make it." We who have written books may feel certain momentary reserves about the first branch of this injunction; but we yield to none in earnestness of god-speeds to the myriads of our young men who have responded to the second. When they shall have "made" the history that the desperate condition of the civilized world requires, they will be the first to urge, approve and promote the activity of those whose function it is to record and interpret their deeds.

Looking back to the year in which this association was organized, what do we see going on in the writing of history?

In 1884 the small group of American writers who had given distinction to historiography, by works not concerned immediately with the United States, had passed out of life or of influence. Irving and Prescott were long dead. Motley's Barneveld, his last work, had appeared in 1873, and the author died four years later. Parkman, a younger man, came back from general literature to history in this very year 1884, with the volume on Montcalm and Wolfe that confirmed his position in the first rank of the historiographical phalanx. But the man that towered up in general recognition as peculiarly the American historiographer was George Bancroft. He was 84 years old, but it was only two years since the appearance of the two stout volumes that brought his *History of the United States* down through the formation of the Constitution; and the final revision of his complete work was in progress when the association saw the light of day. There was in the historical guild of that time a very perceptible lack of enthusiasm for Bancroft's history in regard to both its substance and its form; but respect for his age and for the number of volumes that he had written made him an acceptable symbol of the association's ideals. He was made president for a year, and he retained the general function of patron saint till his death in 1891.

When Bancroft took up the writing of history, in the 1830's, the culmination of God's wonder-working in the life of mankind was believed by all good Americans to have been the achievement of independence and the creation of a constitution by the United States. When, fifty years later, Bancroft's work was ended, a still greater miracle had supplanted independence in American interest, and those to whom time and faculty were given for the study of history were

irresistibly forced to deal with the conflict of the sections, and the Providential preservation of the Union. The Civil War became the terminus ad quem of all historiographic aspiration.

In 1884 two comprehensive enterprises were well under way for the cultivation of the field between the Revolution and the Civil War. Von Holst, seeking to force the barrier that so often excludes the German docent from the professorial chair, resorted to the study of American democracy and constitutional life. He secured his professorship by a series of brilliant and forceful essays on our early political history, and then continued his study in consecutive historical form till he brought it to the elections of 1860. His conclusions, especially his vivid portrayal of the raw head and bloody bones of a slavocracy that served as his *diabolus ex machina*, made a strong appeal to influential northern sentiment, and his work, in translation, had a vogue that entitles it to a place in American historiography. In 1884 three volumes of the English version had appeared, and the author was at the height of his influence in this country. The remaining volumes of the translation were published at intervals down to their completion in 1892. By this date, however, his peculiar interpretation of our history was declining rapidly in importance.

Following closely on the German's history comes that of Schouler, covering the same period. The first volumes appeared in 1880 and the last not until 1899. Schouler was forty-one years of age when his first volumes were put forth to the public. He very naturally represented the general views of a New Englander whose early manhood had been spent in the midst of the conflict over slavery and secession. Yet his work showed on the whole rather less violent prejudices than appeared in Von Holst.

Quite different from the political and constitutional interest that monopolized Schouler and Von Holst was the historiographic spirit most characteristic of the 1880's. This spirit was manifest in some degree in the work of H. H. Bancroft, whose massive contributions to the facts of far-western life had begun to appear as far back as 1874. His chosen sphere far transcended the customary bounds of formal political institutions; but whether his method of working the field entitles him to a place in historiography is still a mooted question.

The clear and undisputed announcement of the new spirit was embodied in the works of McMaster and John Fiske. McMaster's first volume appeared in 1883, and his second in 1885, the two thus happily bracketing the birth of our association. It violates no confidence to state that when McMaster burst into the historiographical firmament as a star of the first magnitude he had successfully attained the age of 31—about the point at which in these degenerate days a man is supposed to be completing his work for the doctorate.

John Fiske came into the writing of history from another field, where he had already become famous. His first formal appearance as a writer of systematic history was through his *Critical Period*, published in 1888. Fiske at this time was 46 years old.

The historiographic affinity if not paternity of McMaster and Fiske was clearly enough traceable to the Englishmen Freeman and J. R. Green. Freeman was in the 1880's the truculent despot of the guild of historians. The fidelity of his subjects was measured by their acceptance of the stern dogmas: All history is politics; all history is a unity. On his coat of arms were emblazoned the Anglo-Saxon militant, the Teuton rampant, and the Aryan eternally triumphant. John Richard Green, with his *History of the English People*, had shown a rebellious spirit; he had incorporated in his narrative facts that could not, by the acutest genius, be brought within the category of politics. Freeman had to rebuke the erring young man. "Johnnie," he said, "if you had left out all that social and economic stuff, you would have made a good history." But Johnnie's sense of the synthesis of history was broader and surer than his master's. He respected and retained Freeman's view that modern England could not be understood save through the development of Anglo-Saxon political institutions; but he persisted in giving weight to institutions that were not political at all.

McMaster's spirit was that of Green. He went far afield from the well-worn paths of constitution-making and party contention and pictured the operation of many more subtle influences that had contributed mightily to make the people of the United States what it was. To the technique of historiography also he added a significant element. Von Holst was imposing upon the writer of American history for all future time the necessity of searching that useful but unalluring repository of information, the *Congressional Record*; McMaster added the even more burdensome duty of going through all the newspapers of the day.

John Fiske's attachment to the Freemanesque school was chiefly by way of the unity of history. He believed with Freeman that all history was one and that, when we got right back to the truth, that one was the Aryan, historically incarnate in the Anglo-Saxon. Fiske's passion for unity was acquired in his intellectual activity prior to his formal entrance into historiography. His early predilection was cosmic philosophy, and he became the American high priest of evolution at a time when aggressive adhesion to that theory in the United States smacked somewhat of scandal. When in his maturity he took up the writing of history, the mind that was wont to trace the diversity of created life back to a single protoplasmic cell naturally found unity in the life of historic peoples. It is quite typical of his mental attitude that his *Beginnings of New England* starts with the year 476 A. D. His beginning of American history is

thus fixed at a date which to us of the present day is merely the assumed year of the mythical fall of a hypothetical empire.

Whether as cause or effect or merely accompaniment of the organization and growth of this association, a notable activity in the writing of history was characteristic of the remainder of the nineteenth century. Various aspects of European history were presented in what we somewhat superciliously call the old-fashioned manner. The implied disparagement is not easy to justify in Herbert Tuttle's *History of Prussia*, that began to appear in 1884; or Henry C. Lea's epoch-making study of ecclesiastical institutions, culminating in the history of the Inquisition that appeared in 1887. Nor should we damn with a sneer the productions of Henry Martyn Baird and James Breck Perkins, whose works on the Huguenots and on the Bourbon monarchy in France were completed in 1895 and 1897, respectively.

In American history, the older type of historiography was signalized by the advent of Henry Adams and James Ford Rhodes. Each of these assumed high historiographic importance. To each an impulse was given by ancestral problems. Adams had to explain why his grandfather got out of the Federalist Party at the time of the War of 1812; Rhodes had to explain why his father remained in the Democratic Party during the Civil War. The result was the *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, which began its appearance in 1889, and the *History of the United States since 1850*, the first volume of which dated from 1893. In both works, however marked the differences between them, there is exhibited the classic conception that was controlling in Thucydides and Tacitus, in Grote and Macaulay, that the course of political and military events with full attention to the great personalities involved in them, and an occasional digression on the religious, literary, artistic, and social conditions, constituted the normal field of the historian.

Support to the different idea that McMaster was laboriously illustrating was vehemently given in 1889 by the irruption into historiography of Theodore Roosevelt, aged 31, with his *Winning of the West*. The formal opening of this field was a capital fact of American historiography. It signified the beginning of a serious evaluation of a great drama in human progress—a drama that had unfolded almost without intelligent notice through a century. The history of pioneering from the Appalachians to the Pacific, and its part in the building up of the nation, could never have been thought of or wrought out by any one who saw history as primarily the achievements of great men, engaged in the grand manner, in sublime episodes, of political and military strife. The westward expansion of the American people consisted in the achievements of average men, dominated for the most part by commonplace motives,

doing ordinary every-day duties, with merely primitive instruments. The lives of such men did not furnish the subject matter of the old-fashioned historiography. Their great significance in American history had been suggested by Parkman; H. H. Bancroft was doing something to emphasize it; it was conspicuous in the work of McMaster; in Roosevelt it was made almost the exclusive theme. For the perpetuation of the spirit and method of these writers in the twentieth century, it is unnecessary to mention to this audience how potent has been the influence, and how disproportionately scanty, alas! the historiographic output, of our own Turner.

Through the last decade of the last century the process went placidly on of lengthening on the shelves the stately rows of volumes that embodied the historiographical conceptions of Fiske, McMaster, Rhodes, Roosevelt, and the rest. In the meantime a new factor entered the situation, with far-reaching results. The monograph, as a type of historical productivity, attained monstrous proportions in its ravages. The most prolific breeding places of the germ were publishers' offices and the Germanified universities that took form out of the academic void about 1880. In the publishers' offices the common culture in which the germ appeared was the "series"—statesmen, commanders, commonwealths, epochs, crises, cities, highways, and the rest. In the universities the deadliest species of the germ thrived in the doctoral dissertation.

The milieu was highly favorable for the spread of monographic historiography in the eighties and nineties. The American people was increasing in numbers and in intelligence, but not in widely distributed wealth to an extent to insure a great demand for a seven to ten volume history. Nor was it merely a matter of finance. The big, old-fashioned history was of course required for every gentleman's library; but it was required as interior decoration, not as food for the mind. The gentlemen who set or followed the fashion in libraries, as well the masses who actually read books, preferred to take their culture on the tabloid principle. Thus from the side of demand the historical monograph was appropriate. From the side of supply a force was operative that derived some of its cogency from the examples of the recent historians. Von Holst had made it imperative to search with care the records of Congress and the administration; McMaster had added the whole newspaper and periodical literature of America. The professors who were directing the preparation of doctoral dissertations insisted, *more Germanico*, on notes and bibliography that should prove familiarity with all the works in every language and throughout all time that touched on the subject in hand. A tiny fragment of an unexplored field was thus naturally sought out by the doctoral candidate who contemplated any work in life after attaining his degree. Thus original research assumed the form that is familiar to us, and the monograph thrived mightily.

An additional influence working to drive the historical student to monographic expression was the ever-widening scope of legitimate history. The idea of Green and McMaster that all aspects of a people's life must be treated by the historian was full of discouragement to the ambitious novice. Three score and ten was a pitiful number of years in which to master the records of a single nation, if to the political and military must be added its literary, religious, aesthetic, economic, and social aspirations and achievements. But Freeman's and Fiske's unity of history required further that a nation be treated only in its relations to all other nations. It is not strange that serious writers took refuge in monographs.

The influences that have been mentioned were all operative in producing that peculiar example of monographic method, Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*. Its portentous tomes followed one another from the press in mastodonic and microtypographic majesty from 1889 till the editor's death in 1897. Winsor's vast and minute information and his unquestioned gifts as an editor did not save his masterpiece from a general verdict of failure except as a mass of material.

The fate of Winsor's work has a certain interesting connection with an episode in the life of this association. That there had never been produced a comprehensive history of the United States, from Christopher Columbus to Grover Cleveland, was a matter of widespread comment in historical circles in the eighteen eighties. Winsor had designed his enterprise to fill this gap. When the fatal defects of the *Narrative and Critical History* were revealed, discussion became earnest as to whether it was possible to succeed where he had failed. In the middle and later nineties every meeting of this association was the occasion of warm debate on the subject. There was pretty general agreement that the field was too wide in scope and too varied in content to be satisfactorily handled by any individual, doomed to live only three score years and ten. Whether the task could be achieved by any application of the cooperative or monographic method, was a question on which opinion was rather evenly divided.

In these years the association was growing and prospering, and was becoming strongly self-conscious. An aggressive group of the younger members took the position that it was the urgent duty of the association to take in hand the production of an authoritative history of the United States. The membership of the organization, it was asserted, could furnish the talent, literary, scientific and editorial, to insure a scientifically satisfactory work. A practical project of such an enterprise was worked out in detail, and publishers were found who were not only ready, but eager, to take it up. But the executive council of the association proved even more ready and

eager to take it down. The older men on the council stood stiffly on a practical dilemma that the young monographic enthusiasts found it distinctly awkward to meet. If, said the elder statesmen, this project is to be commercially profitable, it should be left to the regular publishers; if it is not to pay, the association cannot afford to carry it on.

Though this enterprise was abortive, its immediate consequences were highly significant in American historiography. Taken up with some modifications as a private affair, it ended in the appearance of the twenty-seven volumes of *The American Nation*—that will stand for generations as a faithful index of the notions of history and of historiography that characterized the first decade of the twentieth century.

To go forward to a commentary and judgment on the second decade of that century would require certainly more time and probably more courage than has been allotted to me. It would require an estimate of the value and permanence of contemporary theories and practices in historiography that are highly charged with controversy. We should have to judge the influence and importance of the "real" and "true" school of biography that has ravaged historic reputations from Benjamin Franklin to Woodrow Wilson; of the economic interpretation that has put the hiss in history; of the clash between equally eminent authorities claiming respectively that there is a new history and that there is no new thing under the sun. The mere mention of such problems shows the hopelessness of discussing them here.

To the philosophical observer things historiographic seem, in spite of the interesting formulas that suggest novelty, to be going ahead in pretty much the old familiar way. Adams, McMaster, Rhodes have completed their typical works, Osgood, Channing, and, since only yesterday, Oberholtzer are cheerfully grinding out the sturdy octavos that continue the tradition. Of the monographic and co-operative enterprises that have followed *The American Nation*, space is wanting to tell. There is undoubtedly manifest in these later histories a general tendency to give political, military, and biographical facts a less prominent part than those of an economic and impersonal character. I may not in this presence predict—for prophecy is taboo in proper historiography—but as an American citizen I am entitled to guess that the tendency just mentioned will be reversed in the immediate future. If civilization is destined to survive the convulsion that has brought it near extinction today; if the American people shall not be brought by the end of the war to the level of savagery and brutality on which their enemies began it, then historiography in the next generation will find its chief theme in recording the policies of State, the deeds of arms, and the genius of men through which that dreadful doom was averted.

XIV. THIRTEENTH REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL
MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

JUNE 29, 1918.

JUSTIN H. SMITH, *Chairman*.

DICE R. ANDERSON.

GAILLARD HUNT.

MRS. AMOS G. DRAPER.

CHARLES H. LINCOLN.

LOGAN ESAREY.

MILO M. QUAIFE.

LETTERS OF GENERAL ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA
RELATING TO THE WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND MEXICO, 1846-1848.

Edited by JUSTIN H. SMITH.

INTRODUCTION.

Antonio López de Santa Anna, who was born at Jalapa in the State of Vera Cruz, Mexico, in 1795, ranks with Itúrbide, Juárez and Díaz as one of the four remarkable men produced by his country, and in brilliancy he outshone all his compeers. Of what is usually signified by the word education he possessed only the barest rudiments. Intellectually he did not stand high. Though rated as both a statesman and a general, he was neither. But a wonderful combination of imperious will, mental quickness and penetration, unmatched ambition, audacity and unscrupulousness, a thorough knowledge of his fellow-citizens and histrionic ability of no mean order made him an irrepressible leader, while condemning him to the sudden reverses that follow upon a passionate temper and a character that inspires no confidence. Another factor in both making and marring his fortunes was the readiness of men really shrewder and perhaps worse than himself, but wanting in the qualities that make for leadership, to counsel and support him in order to use his talents and power. His enemies almost always committed some blunder that he could turn to account; and finally fortune herself; though fickle and sometimes cruel, frequently threw the most golden of chances in his way.

To give an account of Santa Anna's career prior to the war between Mexico and the United States would be to write the history of his country for more than half a generation, but a few outlines may be sketched. After serving Spain during the Mexican revolution he joined the "Liberator," Itúrbide; and when this bold leader, now an unpopular and imprudent emperor, undertook to discipline him, he obtained a quick revenge by pronouncing for a republic and so bringing ruin upon his former chief. After many intrigues and much revolutionary fighting he seemed in 1834 to have the country in his grasp; but his defeat and capture in Texas two years later and his secret bargain with the Texans apparently ended his public life. In 1838, however, by stepping bravely into the war with France and turning to capital account the loss of a leg, he recovered his prestige; and in a few years he worked his bloody and conscienceless way again to the leading position. Mexico was now his; but greed and arbitrary rule turned all against him, and the general uprising of December, 1844, sent him to Cuba as an exile.

He was succeeded by the well-meaning General José Joaquín de Herrera. But the inefficiency and tactical blunders of the new ad-

ministration and its willingness to adjust amicably the pending difficulties with the United States—which grew principally out of the outrages inflicted upon American citizens and our annexation of Texas—completely undermined it; and in December, 1845, General Mariano Paredes, who commanded the largest Mexican army, precipitated another revolution. Herrera fell without a struggle; and for a time the new master appeared to do well, for he was laborious and comparatively honest. It soon was commonly understood, however, that he designed to set up a European prince at Mexico, and the nation in general became indignant. Santa Anna, who always posed as the father of republicanism in Mexico, saw his opportunity. Most of the military officers were naturally in favor of this prince of robbers; and, in view of the monarchical danger, the democratic masses, led by Valentín Gómez Farías, came into line.

On the 25th of April, 1846, a Mexican attack upon Captain Thornton's reconnoitering party on the north bank of the Rio Grande brought on the long threatened war against the United States. President Polk, knowing that nobody could be more hostile to us than Paredes, believing that Santa Anna was too intelligent to favor the war, and probably satisfied that his return to Mexico would divide the enemy, even if helpful in no other way, sent Commander Alexander Slidell Mackenzie of the American navy to talk with the ex-Dictator at Havana, and a sort of understanding was reached that, should he regain power, Santa Anna would make peace. Paredes, meanwhile, grew weaker and weaker; and at length General Arista's unsuccessful battles near the Rio Grande, May 8 and 9, 1846, damaged the administration fatally. At the end of July the reins of government were handed over to Vice President Nicolás Bravo and a change of policy was announced. But on the 4th of August General José Mariano Salas, who commanded the garrison at Mexico, ushered in the waiting revolution in favor of Santa Anna and popular government. Twelve days later the exile arrived at Vera Cruz. To his surprise he found the country so determined upon war that his plan to make peace could not be carried into execution, and after hesitating for a time he decided to lead the nation in the direction it wished to take.

The present series of his letters begins almost at the hour he returned to Mexico from Cuba, and it continues until just before he arrived at the capital in May, 1847, to make his final stand against the American troops. As he was now in personal touch with the Minister of War,¹ to whom his letters had been written, there was no further occasion for correspondence. The intention has been in general to present only unpublished documents; but on account of their

¹ General J. N. Almonte until just before Christmas, 1846; then General Valentín Canalizo until March 23, 1847; and then General J. I. Gutiérrez.

interest two exceptions have been made, and possibly a few others were printed so obscurely as to escape the editor's notice. All may be found in the archives of the War Department, National Palace, City of Mexico, or, to be more exact, in the Archivo General de Guerra y Marina, since, on account of the small size of the Mexican navy, the two branches were and are under a single head. To specify definitely the place where each paper is kept does not happen to be feasible. A part of them were found by the editor, in large, unclassified bundles called *legajos*, and the rest in a great miscellaneous pile; and since the time of his visit probably all have been re-arranged.

As copyists he had the assistance of two clerks belonging to the staff of the Archivo, who were permitted by the superintendent to perform their own light duties after the offices were closed to the public for the day. These gentlemen proved to be surprisingly accurate. By marking lightly in the margin with a pencil (as he was authorized to do) the editor indicated what part or parts of a letter he desired to have, and all copies were "read back" to him while he followed with the original. The omitted portions, indicated by dots, were not of value for the history of the war between Mexico and the United States. Having time to do so, the editor also made notes of certain papers which it seemed unnecessary to transcribe in full, and these notes (in English) are here presented in their chronological places, printed in smaller type. Had the intention been to issue an edition of the letters, a copy would have been taken in every instance, but the editor was merely gathering material to be used by himself in writing a history of the war, and the total quantity—of which Santa Anna's letters constituted but a small part—was so enormous, that no time or effort could be wasted. The accentuation, except in cases where it affected the meaning of a word, was entrusted to the copyists. Santa Anna's amanuenses had neither been correct according to the now accepted system nor even been consistent, and it seemed useless to take a great amount of trouble in order to be sure of reproducing exactly their capricious marks.

Santa Anna's printed letters relating to the war are to be found in a great many different publications. Books and pamphlets of his own (for which one may consult the list of printed sources in the editor's History of the War with Mexico) contain many; and the newspapers and controversial literature of the period include more. The largest single collection is that made by Emilio del Castillo Negrete in his *Invasión de los Norte Americanos en México* (6 vols., México, 1890-1); but the documents presented in that work were not printed very accurately.

The question of adding a translation of the letters was duly considered; but it was believed that only persons seriously interested

in Mexican history would care to read them, and that such persons not only would understand Spanish, but would prefer to use the original version.

In conclusion the author begs leave to offer a word of personal explanation. On being elected chairman of the Historical Manuscripts Commission he was unable to lay hands upon anything for early publication. To find documents worth printing and obtain a scholarly edition of them is naturally a very slow process. In this emergency he bethought himself of Santa Anna's letters; and on consulting gentlemen eminently qualified to represent the American Historical Association he was advised, not only that they seemed likely to be suitable, but that his editing them—a task which, as it happened, no one else was then prepared to undertake—would be entirely proper. Indeed, it appeared that he was rather expected to do some such piece of work while chairman of the Commission

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

LETTERS OF GENERAL SANTA ANNA, 1846-1848.

August 16, 1846.

TO GENERAL JOSÉ MARIANO SALAS, THE ACTING EXECUTIVE OF THE NATION.

E. S.² Ahora que es la una del día acabo de llegar á este Puerto,³ á bordo del vapor Arabe, en compañía de los Srés.⁴ Rejon,⁵ Haro y Tamaris,⁶ y Almonte.⁷ Lo que me apresuro á comunicar á V. E.⁸ para su conocimiento, reservandome escribirle mas detenidamente asi que haya descansado de la penosa navegacion que he traído.

² Excelentísimo Señor.

³ Santa Anna was returning from Cuba, where he had lived near Havana since being banished from Mexico in consequence of the revolution of Dec., 1844. At this time (Aug., 1846) naval forces of the United States, commanded by Commodore David Conner, were blockading Vera Cruz; but, under an order from the American government, Santa Anna was permitted to pass. He knew that the order had been issued.

⁴ Señores. The line signifying abbreviation should extend across more than one letter. In all similar cases a similar remark may be understood.

⁵ Manuel Crescencio Rejón had been prominent in Mexican politics, especially as Minister of Relations (Secretario de Relaciones), that is to say, Secretary of State.

⁶ Antonio Haro y Tamáris, or better Tamáriz, was a financier, and rose to be Minister of the Treasury (Hacienda).

⁷ General Juan N. Almonte, supposed to be an illegitimate son of Morelos, the ablest patriot leader in the revolution against Spain, had been the Mexican minister to the United States at the time when our deciding to annex Texas caused Mexico to break off diplomatic relations with us.

⁸ Vuestra Excelencia or Vucencia.

Con esta ocasion renuevo á V. E. las seguridades de mi aprecio y consideracion.

Dios y Libertad.

VERACRUZ, *Agosto 16 de 1846.*

Antonio López de Santa Anna. [Rúbrica⁹]

[THE FOLLOWING LETTERS, UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED, ARE TO THE MINISTER OF WAR.]

September 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano.¹⁰ Gräl¹¹ en Jefe.

E. S. Con fecha 2 del Corriente me dice el Sr. Commandante de la fortaleza de Perote¹² lo que sigue:

"E. S. El Sr. Gräl D. Juan Landero¹³ en oficio de 29 del pasado, me dice que de la conducta de caudales¹⁴ que en estos días debe llegar de la Capital de la República con direccion á la plaza de Vera Cruz, tome la cantidad de dos mil pesos y los distribuya en los militares, limpia de Armas y presidio, mas como quiera que en todo el mes ppdo¹⁵ no se recibieron mas de mil pesos, importando el presupuesto¹⁶ económico tres mil quinientos cincuenta y tres, con esta cantidad, no se cubre el importe de la segunda quincena de dicho mes, por consiguiente, se tiene que pagar á los que han recompuesto las armas todo lo que se les está debiendo; añadiendo á V. E. que para el presente, no cuento con recursos para las atenciones de Plana Mayor,¹⁷ Artilleria, hospital, obreros de maestranza y presidio. Tambien hago presente á V. E. que el importe del presupuesto que vencen las dos compañías de defensores¹⁸ que se hallan dando la guarnición en esta fortaleza, asciende á dos mil ciento ochenta y siete pesos; en el pueblo no hay quien facilite dinero porque no lo tienen y solo ministra mas como

⁹ This word signifies the flourish, sometimes extremely elaborate, which the Mexican considered an essential part of his signature. Santa Anna's *rúbrica* was a simple one. As it may be taken for granted, the word will not be printed again. For a similar reason the explanation of "E. S.", "V. E.", etc., are given only once, unless there be a particular reason for repetition.

¹⁰ The Mexicans were greatly influenced by labels. Hence this name was given by Santa Anna to his army. The word "Libertador" intimated that the American invaders aimed to enslave the Mexicans and were to be expelled from Mexican territory; and the word "Republicano" suggested that Santa Anna was the champion of republican institutions as against the advocates of monarchy, who were represented by Paredes.

¹¹ General. See note 3 on the first letter.

¹² A city between Jalapa and Puebla. The fortress stood near it.

¹³ Comandante General of Vera Cruz.

¹⁴ Conducta de caudales, a train of mules transporting coin or bullion.

¹⁵ *Próximo pasado.*

¹⁶ In military as well as in civil administration it was customary to make up an estimate of expenses on the principle of a budget.

¹⁷ At this time practically equivalent to a board of military engineers.

¹⁸ This word was used technically in Mexico at this time to signify volunteers.

á estos individuos, se socorren con metálico, por haber les dado dos dias y medio de socorros, se han tenido muchos apuros; asi es que si V. E. lo tiene á bien de la mencionada conducta, puede quedar alguna cantidad con este fin."

Y lo traslado á V. E. para que sirva ponerlo en conocimiento del E. S. Grál encargado del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo,¹⁹ manifestándole, que son ciertas las penurias que sufren los oficiales, y guarnición de la Fortaleza de Perote, y en circunstancias de estar allí preso el E. S. Grál Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga,²⁰ y tener por custodia á los milicianos de Jalapa y Coatepec, que deben ser socorridos diariamente con su sueldo, pues de lo contrario se irian á sus casas, y la fortaleza quedaría abandonada con grave riesgo de ser alterada la tranquilidad pública, he de merecer á V. E. recabe del citado E. S. Grál en Jefe²¹ un libramiento de seis mil pesos para que á vuelta del extraordinario se envíe á Perote para las atenciones que quedan indicadas.

ENCERO,²² *Septiembre 4, de 1846.*

September 8, 1846.

August 13 the Governor and Comandante General²³ of Tabasco²⁴ wrote to me as follows: "Led by V. E. the army which has to complete the great work of our revolution will be invincible, and the enemies of our liberty and independence will bite the dust."²⁵

ENCERO.

September 21, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Exigiendo el mejor servicio de la Nación que la Brigada de Caballeria al mando del Sr. Grál Dn. José Vicente Miñon²⁶ y la

¹⁹ General José Mariano Salas, head of the successful revolution of Aug. 4, 1846.

²⁰ According to a common practice Paredes added to his own name (i. e., that of his father) his mother's name. Haro y Tamáriz is another case of the same kind. The second name was more often dropped than used in referring to its proprietor. Paredes was the usurper of Dec., 1845, ousted by the revolution of Aug. 4, 1846.

²¹ At this date the peso was regarded as equivalent to the American dollar. In our own time it sank to one-half of that value.

²² One of Santa Anna's estates. It was near the National Highway running from Mexico to Vera Cruz and about eight miles below Jalapa.

²³ The governor of a State was a civil official elected at this time by the people. The Comandante General was appointed by the central government to represent its military power. Sometimes the same man held both offices. Usually the two offices were held by two men, who clashed more or less.

²⁴ A State of Mexico bordering on Guatemala.

²⁵ The reason why some of the letters are given in English may be found in the Introduction.

²⁶ José Vicente Miñon was born at Cádiz, Spain, and began his military career in 1816 as a cadet (i. e., a volunteer looking for a commission) in the Dragones del Principe. In 1840 he was thirty-eight years old. He figured in connection with the battle of Buena Vista.

de Infanteria al del Sr. Grál Dn. Francisco Perez²⁷ se pongan en marcha premisamente para el dia 24 del presente mes.²⁸

TACUBAYA,²⁹ *Seprbre 21, 1846.*

September 22, 1846.

I have ordered Ciriaco Vásquez³⁰ to go to San Luis Potosí and take command of the Fourth Brigade.

September 24, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. He de merecer á V. E. acuerde con el E. S. Grál en Jefe encargado del Poder Ejecutivo, se prevenga al Sr. contratista del Tren de artillería, se situen los tiros de mulos respectivos para mi coche, en Huehuetoca, Tula, Arroyosarco y San Juan del Rio.³¹

TACUBAYA, *Seprbre 24 de 1846.*

September 25, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. General en Jefe.

E. S. Como por el contenido de la carta del cura de Cerralvo³² que en copia remitió á ese Ministerio el mismo Sr. Ampudia,³³ se viene en conocimiento que el pensamiento del Grál Taylor³⁴ es amenazar á Monterrey únicamente y dirigirse sobre el Saltillo, apoderandose antes de las principales gargantas de la Sierra, con el fin de cortar enteramente la comunicación de las fuerzas situadas en aquella Ciudad.³⁵

²⁷ Francisco Pérez, although comparatively a new man, commanded the finest brigade of the army in 1847. He was prominent at the battles of Buena Vista, Churubusco and Molino del Rey.

²⁸ They were to go to San Luis Potosí, a city 215 miles by rail northwest of Mexico, in accordance with Santa Anna's plan to concentrate a powerful army there.

²⁹ A suburb southwest of Mexico, where Santa Anna was now living.

³⁰ Vásquez, or better Vázquez, though born at Vera Cruz, 1794, served under the flag of Spain during the Mexican revolution. He commanded a division in the Buena Vista campaign, and was killed at the battle of Cerro Gordo while bravely defending the vital Mexican position on the summit of El Telégrafo hill.

³¹ Points, lying on the road from Mexico to San Luis Potosí, at which Santa Anna wished to find relays of mules ready for him.

³² A small town between Camargo and Monterey. Camargo lay on the San Juan River about three miles from the Rio Grande, and was Taylor's base for the advance upon Monterey.

³³ Pedro de Ampudia, born at Havana, Cuba, in 1803, began his military life in the Spanish army in 1818. He ranked second on the Mexican side in the battles of Palo Alto and the Resaca, May 8 and 9, 1846, commanded in the defence of Monterey, Sept., 1846, played a rôle of some importance at the battle of Cerro Gordo, Apr., 1847, and then, falling into disfavor with Santa Anna, ceased to figure in the war.

³⁴ Zachary Taylor, commander of the American forces invading northern Mexico.

³⁵ I. e., Saltillo, which lies sixty-five or seventy miles southeast of Monterey. Instead of pursuing this plan, which would have made the fighting at Monterey unnecessary, Taylor, who did not believe the Mexicans would make a stand either there or in the mountains (Sierra Madre) lying between that point and Saltillo, marched directly upon Monterey.

Precisamente esta fué mi prediccion, y por eso en repetidísimas comunicaciones que he dirigido al Gobierno desde que desembarqué en Veracruz, le he instado para que librase ordenes enérgicas al Grál Ampudia, con el objeto de que abandonada la Ciudad de Monterrey por la imposibilidad de defenderse, segun demostré, se retirase con tiempo al Saltillo, y allí, y en la Sierra, se levantasen las fortificaciones correspondientes para resistir con buen éxito los impulsos del enemigo, y hacer inútiles sus tenativas entre tanto eramos fuertes, y podíamos tomar la ofensiva.³⁶

Bien pudo el Sr. Grál Ampudia retirarse ordenadamente como se le previno con oportunidad, sin verse precisado á abandonar le Artillería, trenes, equipajes, etc., pues para todo ha tenido el tiempo suficiente en un mes que hace recibió las primeras prevenciones para aquel movimiento.

Es bien sabido que un Ejército³⁷ sin conocimientos del Pais y tan embromado con su gruesa Artillería, carros, etc. etc., en tiempo de Aguas y en un camino fragoso como es el que tenia que atravesar, no podia acercarse á Monterrey con esa velocidad que el Sr. Ampudia supone.

Así vemos, que ahora es cuando previene al Comandante Grál de Coahuila,³⁸ que se abran cortaduras y se levanten reductos como si fuera posible improvisar una fortificación en veinticuatro horas para resistir los ataques de 7 ú 8,000 hombres, provistos de Artillería competente. Esto es imperdonable, y si aconteciese una desgracia como he previsto, la Nación hará fuertes cargas al culpable.

No solamente hay que lamentar tanta imprevisión, sino que es preciso tambien condenar la criminal apatia del Grál Dn. Francisco Ponce de Leon,³⁹ en el cumplimiento de las órdenes que se le han librado para que con la 4^a Brigada que está á su cargo se dirigiese á marchas forzadas en auxilio del Saltillo y Monterrey, amagadas hace tantos dias.

Al Sr. Ponce de Leon, se le prevendrá que sin excusa ni pretexto alguno, se mueva de San Luis⁴⁰ si no lo ha hecho á la fecha, y forzando marchas se dirija al Saltillo, llevando consigo los Regimientos de Caballería 9^o de Linea⁴¹ y Coraceros siendo su principal

³⁶ Santa Anna's plan was to assemble a grand army at San Luis Potosí, and, when entirely ready, assume the offensive.

³⁷ I. e., Taylor's army, numbering about 6,220.

³⁸ The capital and chief city of the State of Coahuila was Saltillo, called by the Mexicans El Saltillo.

³⁹ Ponce de León was a new and inefficient officer, who failed to reach Monterey in time to take part in the defence of that city against Taylor. It should be said, however, that his so-called brigade consisted of extremely poor material, poorly equipped and poorly supplied.

⁴⁰ Here, as often, for San Luis Potosí.

⁴¹ De Linea: regulars in contrast to the active corps, which were supposed to be called out on special occasions only (though at this time the distinction no longer existed), to the National Guards, which corresponded to American "militia", and to certain other branches of the military service.

deber la defenza de aquella Ciudad, segun las prevenciones del Sr. Grál Ampudia á quien auxiliará en caso preciso.

Estando el Grál D. Angel Guzman⁴² en Cuernavaca⁴³ con cerca de 500 hombres de muy buena tropa, se le prevendrá tambien por extraordinario que desde aquel punto emprenda su marcha para Querétaro⁴⁴ por la via mas recta, enviándosele recursos por medio de una letra para que no alegue ningun pretesto y deje de efectuarse este movimiento. Igual prevencion se hará al Comandante del Batallon fijo de México⁴⁵ que viene del Sur; y por último, se prevendrá que generalmente todos tropas que se hallan operando en aquel rumbo, se muevan con dirección á San Luis Potosí.

V. E. sabe muy bien que esa 4^a Brigada tan decantada se compone de una fuerza ridícula. Por esto es urgentísimo que el Gobierno libre ordenes á los Comandantes Gräles de los Estados de Querétaro, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Morelia y San Luis Potosí, para que todas las fuerzas permanentes y activas sin excepción alguna, existentes en ellos, se dirijan á San Luis Potosí, asi como los depósitos de desertores y reemplazos; á fin de que, ya que no podamos presentar en Ejército bien organizado, al menos opongamos al invasor mazas de hombres armados que lo pongan sin movimiento mientras los Estados se toman el tiempo preciso para armarse, se disciplinan nuestras fuerzas y se hace una defenza como es conveniente y decoroso á la nación. Yo conozco muy bien cuan escasos son los elementos con que cuenta el Gobierno Supremo, y cuan nula es por su número la fuerza que ahora se va á poner en camino pero no obstante este conocimiento, yo quiero marchar á su cabeza, porque tengo deseos de pelear, y porque un sagrado deber, me impulsa á defender con ardor y entusiasmo, la independencia de la República. Voy á sacrificarme evidentemente; pero una muerte honrosa en el campo de la batalla completará mis sacrificios y mis deseos si no es posible una victoria.⁴⁶

No puedo excusarme de manifestar á V. E. en este lugar, que hace tres dias, debió ministrarse á las Brigadas que van á salir, el importe de su presupuesto de un mes, y que esta es la hora que no lo han recibido, porque no ha habido una persona que se encargue de distribuir el dinero competente, que se ha procurado bajo mi garantía personal. Esto es muy sensible, porque demuestra que no todos los funcionarios, se esfuerzan como es debido en el cumplimiento de sus mas sagrados deberes. Yo suplico á V. E. que en la parte que le toca procure allanar los inconvenientes que se han presentado

⁴² Guzmán was a new officer of whom little is known except that he played a rather prominent part in the Buena Vista campaign.

⁴³ A town about 43 miles south of Mexico.

⁴⁴ By the road about 150 miles northwest from Mexico on the way to San Luis Potosí.

⁴⁵ Batallón Fijo de México, the name of a particular corps. The Mexican army included at this time a number of corps bearing special names that had no practical significance.

⁴⁶ One here sees Santa Anna on his "high horse," so to speak. Of course he did not seriously mean what he said. Other such passages will be found.

á la marcha de las dos referidas Brigadas, pasando personalmente á la Tesorería y adonde sea necesario, paraque hoy mismo quede todo espedito y no se retarde un movimiento que hacen urgente los riesgos que próximamente amenazan á nuestros soldados del norte.¹

TACUBAYA, *Septiembre 25 de 1846.*

September 26, 1846.

"As it is indispensable to concentrate in San Luis Potosí all the permanent² and activo forces possible", order all such cavalry from Oaxaca to the capital.

TACUBAYA.

September 26, 1846.

Let the force under Guzmán which arrived at the capital yesterday from the South go on to San Luis Potosí as it is [*tal como se halla*].

TACUBAYA.

September 29, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria.³ de Campaña.

Exmo. Sr.⁴ Por el contenido de los oficios del Gral Vazquez, vera V. E., que se ha confirmado al pie de la letra, lo que anuncie desde Veracruz, y despues desde el Encero, al E. S. Gral encargado del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo y á V. E. mismo, sintiendo ahora vivamente funestos resultados de la tenacidad con que se sostuvo la permanencia en Monterrey del Cuerpo de tropas allí reunido al mando del Gral Dn. Pedro de Ampudia, no obstante mis fundadas observaciones, y la protesta que hize por conducto del S. D.⁵ Manuel Baranda.⁶ Mi plan de campaña se ha frustrado por este fatal incidente; pues perdido el único Cuerpo de tropas permanentes con que contabamos, y todo el material de guerra que con el estaba,⁷ hoy me encuentro envuelto en dificilísimas circunstancias que no se si atinaré á vencer. La Nación por el mismo incidente desgraciado, se encuentra casi á merced de los invasores; y si no se hace por ella un esfuerzo tan grande como se necesita, quizá aquellos infames profanarán con su inmundia planta nuestra hermosa Capital, á donde debian llegar. Esto quize evitar, y no lo conseguí, porque no se apreciaron los consejos de un viejo y experimentado Grál.

Pero á mi aun no me abandona la esperanza, y protesto á V. E. que desplegaré toda la enerjia de mi caracter para arrostrar las difi-

¹ There as a further delay, however.

² "Permanent" forces were the same as forces "de linea", i. e., regulars. For "activo" forces see note 6 on the preceding letter.

³ Secretaría.

⁴ Excelentísimo Señor.

⁵ S. D., i. e., Señor Don.

⁶ A prominent politician, chief member of the cabinet for a time in 1847.

⁷ This was what Santa Anna supposed would be the result of the fighting at Monterey, but in fact Ampudia was permitted to retire with his army and a field battery.

cultades de todo genero que se me presentan; porque sin ejército organizado, sin el material de guerra necesario y sin dinero; cuanto no hay que hacer para preparar una fructuosa defenza, é impedir al ejército invasor su paso para la Capital, viniendo él provisto de todos los elementos para hacernos la guerra con ventaja! Mas para que mis sacrificios no sean esteriles, preciso es que el Gobierno de la República dicte luego cuantas medidas extraordinarias sean convenientes, para proveerme siquiera de una bateria de veinte piezas, de los calibres¹ de 12, 16, 18 y 24, con sus correspondientes dotaciones; y á la vez del dinero necesario para proporcionarme con él cuanto es indispensable; en inteligencia que si estas dos cosas no se me facilitan, me vere obligado á adoptar un sistema de operaciones contrario á mi genio,² pero inevitable en el caso, para que no sufran nuestras armas otra derrota que acabe de humillar á la patria. . . .

Ya he dispuesto haga alto en Matehuala³ la 4^a Brigada que marchaba de San Luis Potosi al Saltillo, para que no vaya esa corta fuerza á caer en manos del enemigo; y prevendo al Grál Dn. Rafael Vázquez,⁴ que permanezca en el Saltillo con la pequeña Sección de su mando, para recoger cuantos dispersos lleguen allí, y que este listo para replegarse á Matehuala, luego que advierta que alguna fuerza respetable del enemigo se dirige á aquella Cuidad, llevando con sigo las piezas de artillería y municiones que se hayan podido salvar. . . .

He dictado otra medida, y es la de prevenir á los Comandantes Grâles de Querétaro, Guanajuato, Michoacan y Jalisco, que reunan cuantas fuerzas permanentes activas y auxiliares del Ejército hubiera en los respectivos Estados, y las dirijan á marchas forzadas á San Luis, donde pienso establecer mi Cuartel Grâl. . . .

Indispensable es que el Gobierno Supremo haga salir de esa Capital á la mayor brevedad, el resto de tropas permanentes y activos que ha quedado en ella, y las municiones de fusil que aun no han salido por falta de bagajes, lo que hace que estas Brigadas marchen sin ellas, segun me han participado los respectivos Grâles.

En conclusion, aseguro á V. E. para conocimiento del Supremo Gobierno que demandando la situación del pais los sacrificios mas costosos, los emprenderé gustoso y pelearé con el último soldado que me quede; en la inteligencia que estoy resuelto á no sobrevivir á la deshonra de nuestra desventurada patria.

Dios y Libertad.

HACIENDA DE SAN SEBASTIAN,⁵ *Septiembre 29 de 1846.*

¹ The cannon specified corresponded substantially to American 12-, 16-, 18- and 24-pounders.

² Presumably this is a threat that he would take by force whatever he deemed requisite.

³ A point about 143 miles north of San Luis Potosí.

⁴ Rafael Vázquez was born in 1802, and began his military life as captain of a band of volunteers in 1827.

⁵ A large estate on the road to San Luis Potosí.

October 3, 1846.

I expected 2,000 (auxiliary militia) from Guanajuato.¹ My hopes have been disappointed through the resistance of the Governor, and he spreads reports unfavorable to the army. He is not evil-inclined, however; is too young—only twenty-three years old. Remove him.

QUERETARO.

October 3, 1846.

This morning at daybreak, Moreno, aide de camp of Ampudia came to me, and said that Ampudia was going to fortify points in the Sierra Madre between Saltillo and Monterey and await the enemy there. So I ordered him not to come to San Luis Potosí but to halt at Saltillo. When the bearer of my orders had been on the way nearly two hours, two officers came, who had left Saltillo one and one-half days later than Moreno. They brought despatches from Ampudia, stating that he could not hold the Sierra, because to do that it would be necessary to fortify five points, and to cover a line of about sixty-five miles, and he had not enough artillery, nor men, nor tools. Moreover, he had intercepted a letter of the enemy containing instructions to Taylor to operate against San Luis Potosí,² and therefore thought it very dangerous for his army to remain in the Sierra. ³ Therefore I determined to carry out my order of Sept. 30, that every one should retire to San Luis Potosí, "in order to organize the army anew in the manner I had contemplated [*concebido*]." To-day I have sent the proper orders to Ampudia. "Long before hand [*may de antemano*] I divined that the enemy would undertake precisely that movement upon San Luis Potosí, because he thinks it would be easy to compel us to ask for peace by shutting us up with his forces in the interior of the Republic." Therefore my first thought on hearing of the capitulation of Monterey was to order retirement to San Luis Potosí, which would form a barrier against the enemy, especially because our troops would be demoralized by recent events, and almost all the material of war lost, so that a good defence of the passes [of the Sierra Madre] was impossible. Notify the Comandante General of Tampico regarding the designs of the enemy against Tampico, "in order that if his numbers do not enable him to withstand the attacking forces, he may evacuate the place and retire to Tuxpam."⁴

QUERETARO.

October 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

Exmo. Sr. He de merecer á V. E. se sirva acordar con el E. S. Grál encargado del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo, que el contingente de dinero con que deben contribuir mensualmente para los gastos gene-

¹ Santa Anna refers here to the State, not the city, of this name.

² This probably refers to Marcy's despatch of Sept. 2, 1846, to Taylor, which suggested advancing as far as San Luis Potosí (30 Cong., 1 sess., Ex. Doc. 60, p. 339).

³ This has reference to the apprehension that Taylor would go round Monterey and this part of the Sierra Madre, and attack Saltillo, in Ampudia's rear.

⁴ Tuxpam (or Tuxpan) stands on the river of that name six miles from the Gulf of Mexico. Later Santa Anna decided to have the Comandante General retire in another direction.

rales los Estados de Jalisco, Guanajuato, Michoacan, Queretaro, San Luis Potosi y Zacatecas se sitúe puntualmente en la comisaria del Ejército de operaciones¹ para los gastos de la campaña. . . .

QUERETARO, *Obre 4 de 1846.*

October 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

Exmo. Sr. Existen en San Luis Potosi cerca de dos millones de pesos destinados á salir en conducta para el Puerto de Tampico,² cuyos derechos³ se aproximarán á 200,000 pesos, y siendo este recurso muy necesario al Ejército de operaciones del Norte, he de merecer á V. E. acuerde con el E. S. Grál encargado del Poder Ejecutivo se situé en la Comisaria del mismo Ejército, sin que se disponga ni de un solo peso para otras atenciones que no sean las de la campaña. . . .

QUERETARO, *Octubre 4 de 1846.*

October 10, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Ayer llego á este Cuartel Grál la 4^a Brigada del Ejército mandada por el Sr. Grál Dn. Francisco Ponce de Leon, y en la misma fecha repeti mis ordenes para que á la mayor brevedad se concentre aqui toda la fuerza que ha estado en el Norte al mando del Sr. Grál Dn. Pedro de Ampudia. . . .

En este cuartel Grál debera organizarse el Ejército, aumentarse y disciplinarse como corresponde para que pueda atender al grande objeto que tiene á su cargo y dar resultados desicivos y gloriosos á las armas de la Republica. . . .

CUARTEL GRÁL EN SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Octubre 10 de 1846.*

October 10, 1846.

I arrived at San Luis Potosi on October 8 "amidst the jubilations of a maganimous and generous people who have not ceased to lavish upon me the most distinguished attentions."⁴

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

¹ Santa Anna sometimes applied this name to his army with particular reference to the portion of it that should be employed in offensive operations.

² The principal export of Mexico, even in peace, was silver, and it was now of much importance because, though Vera Cruz and Tampico were blockaded, the United States permitted the British to transport the precious metals from those ports.

³ Export duties.

⁴ Santa Anna had long been extremely unpopular in northern Mexico, because he had done much harm and no good to that section. He had therefore felt doubtful how he would be received at San Luis Potosi, and shrewdly sent ahead a proclamation asking to be welcomed, not as Santa Anna, but as a soldier fighting for the common country. This was taken by the people at its face value.

October 10, 1846.

Very private. I protest against the appointment of Francisco de Garay¹ to succeed Anastasio Parrodi as Comandante General at Tampico.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 10, 1846.

Order the squadron of the Sixth Regiment now at Puebla to come here.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 12, 1846.

Domingo Echagaray² was not favorably regarded in the State of Vera Cruz after the recent change of the government, and since then has spoken against the existing order of things.³ I directed that he should be sent to this army. The government has disposed otherwise. "The repetition of these acts which place me in a ridiculous position and are so prejudicial to the public service and good military discipline impels me to protest against them in a solemn manner and to ask the satisfaction which I consider due me. . . . I do not consider myself nor should I be considered by the gentlemen who compose the provisional government of the Nation, as a mere General, commanding a corps of the army, but as the sole leader [*único caudillo*] of the Nation, to whom the direction of its destinies has been entrusted."⁴

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 12, 1846.

I have ordered Isidro Reyes⁵ not to march to Chihuahua.⁶

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 12, 1846.

TO Á. PARRODI, COMANDANTE GENERAL AT TAMPICO.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Cam-paña.

E. S. Que inmediatamente que V. S.⁷ reciba esta orden que va por extraordinario disponga que todas las piezas de artillería reunidas

¹ A rather active officer who commanded small forces, mainly or entirely irregular, operating in the vicinity of Tampico.

² Nothing of importance is known regarding this officer.

³ The régime growing out of the revolution of Aug. 4, 1846.

⁴ In public, however, Santa Anna did not scruple to shield himself from responsibility and blame by saying that he was merely the commander of an army. In consequence of this letter Echagaray was promptly sent by the government to San Luis Potosí.

⁵ Reyes, born at Querétaro, Mexico, began his military service in 1813 under the Spanish flag at the age of thirteen. At the time this letter was written he was Comandante General of Zacatecas.

⁶ Gen. S. W. Kearny occupied Santa Fe, New Mexico, on Aug. 18, 1846. As an unnecessary number of American troops had been ordered to that point, it was decided to send a part of them under Col. Alexander W. Doniphan to the city of Chihuahua, where Gen. John E. Wool was expected to go. Wool did not reach that point, but Doniphan did. Angel Trias, Governor of Chihuahua, was very anxious to make a good defence against invasion, and desired the assistance of Reyes; but Santa Anna wished to disregard territory that was not of vital importance, and concentrate the military strength of the nation in his grand army at San Luis Potosí.

⁷ Vueseforía [*Vuestra Señoría*], a title of less dignity than V. E.

en esa plaza,¹ el material pesado que no sea posible hacer caminar por tierra, y los archivos de las oficinas públicas, se pongan á salvo en Panuco ú otro punto mas arriba del rio,² si es posible, y lo mismo las tres lanchas cañoneras, nombrando un Jefe y algunos oficiales con alguna tropa costeña para que escolten en Panuco todo ese material que allí debe situarse; con advertencia al Jefe encargado, que en caso de que el enemigo intentare Llegar hasta aquel punto para hacerse de la artillería y lanchas, cuando ya no quede otro recurso, se inutilise todo, para que el enemigo no logre tomarlo. Luego que su S.³ haya puesto en salvo los citadas piezas y lanchas, rio arriba, V. S. con toda la tropa que tiene á su mando y con las pieznas de batalla que sea posible conducir y las municiones que tambien pueda llevar consigo, emprendera su retirada hasta la Villa de San Antonio de Tula⁴ por Ciudad Victoria,⁵ Tansuabe⁶ y Palmillas, que es camino por donde puede pasar V. S. la artillería que conduzca hasta Tula, en cuya población hara alto y esperara mis ordenes. . . .

En el caso que llegue el Gral Dn. Francisco Garay á la Plaza para encargarse del mando de las tropas, suspendera V. S. la entrega y le prevendra de mi orden marche á Tuxpam á esperar ordenes del Gobierno.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Obre 12 de 1846.*

October 14, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. General en Jefe. Secretaria de Campaña.

E.S. . . . He notado por las comunicaciones de aquel Comandante General⁷ y á V. E. que aun no se ha remitido la polvora que tanto se necesitaba en aquellas Fortalezas,⁸ que más de un mes hace pedí á ese Gobierno con repetición se remitiera, inculcando que de un momento á otro deberian ser atacadas por el enemigo, y me he admirado que hasta ahora no se dicten providencias sobre el particular, siendo probable que cuando la polvora llegue, las Fortalezas se hallan rendido por falta de ella, por ser el material principal para la defensa de las Plazas. Tambien he notado que no se ha mandado ni un solo peso para blindajes, guarda bombas etc. como yo tambien lo he pedido

¹ Tampico.

² The Pánuco River, which flows past Tampico and empties into the Gulf of Mexico. On it lay the village named Pánuco.

³ Señoría.

⁴ A town southwest of the Sierra Madre.

⁵ Capital of the State of Tamaulipas.

⁶ An unimportant point on the route indicated by Santa Anna.

⁷ The Comandante General of Vera Cruz.

⁸ Vera Cruz and the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa. The latter stood in the harbor of Vera Cruz. The city itself was, strictly speaking, not a fortaleza but a plaza; but they are here bracketed loosely together for convenience.

expresamente, de manera, que esto va á hacer suma falta, asi como porción de obras de maestranza y fortificación que se han paralizado por el mismo motivo. Esta conducta no se como podra cubrirla el Gobierno en un caso desgraciado, cuando se le ha estado diciendo por mi mismo, que todo era urgente é indispensable; y no solo ha faltado el dinero para tan importante objeto, sino para la mantención de los soldados que de hambre se atumultaron dias pasados en la Fortaleza de Ulua. ¿Y en que momento? Cuando el enemigo se halla al frente meditando el ataque de la Fortaleza. A la verdad—que se hace increíble un abandono semijante. Y en mi concepto la responsabilidad del Gobierno es inmenza,¹ si las Fortalezas se pierden por falta de los materiales indicados.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Octubre 14 de 1846.*

October 14, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. General en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. No obstante las disposiciones del supremo Gobierno para que los Gobernadores de los Estados entreguen el contingente de hombres que se les ha señalado para reemplazo del Ejército, solo los Estados de San Luis Potosi y Queretaro han entregado una parte, y no tengo noticia que los demas de la federación² hayan puesto en camino para este Cuartel General el Cuerpo que les corresponde. Y como cada dia es mas urgente la necesidad³ de completar los Cuerpos del Ejército para hacer frente al enemigo, he de merecer á V. E. se sirva acordar con el E. S. Gral encargado del S. P. Ejecutivo, que se ordene á los E. S. Gobernadores cumplan con aquel deber con la presteza que demanda la seguridad del territorio nacional.

Dios y Libertad.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Octubre 14 de 1846.*

October 14, 1846.

General Juan Morales is not a safe commander for Vera Cruz. He was displeased with the restoration of the federal system and has talked seditiously.^{*} The removal of Landero⁵ "is another attack against my person."

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

¹ Immensa.

² I. e., the nation, which had returned to the federal system in consequence of the revolution of Aug. 4, 1846.

³ Necesidad.

⁴ Probably Santa Anna had other reasons also for objecting to Morales.

⁵ Gen. José Juan Landero was personally popular at Vera Cruz, but the people felt little confidence in his military and executive talents; and although the government, in deference to Santa Anna's wishes, removed Morales from the position of Comandante General, they insisted upon a reversal of this order shortly before Gen. Scott attacked the city in Mar., 1847. Landero was commonly regarded there as a mere "tool" of Santa Anna.

October 17, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Con fecha 14 del corriente dije al Comisario de este Ejército lo que copio.

"He dispuesto que luego que ingresen á este Cuartel Gral las tropas del Cuerpo de Ejército del Norte que ha estado al mando del Sr. Gral D. Pedro de Ampudia, pase V. S. á hacer una vista escrupulosa a la Tesoreria de aquellas tropas, para averiguar el estado de su caja, y muy principalmente la inversion que se halla dado á los inmensos caudales que se le han remitido por el Supremo Gobierno, pues he notado que sin embargo de habersele mandado el dinero suficiente para cubrir el presupuesto del mes pasado, haber contraído un prestamo de setenta mil pesos que facilitó D. José Ignacio Flores¹ y otros que hicieron varios particulares, haber ingresado últimamente veinte mil pesos de la comizaria² de Zacatecas, y contar con las raciones que daba al Ejército D. Jacobo Sanchez Navarro,³ el Gral Ampudia se ha quejado repetidamente de escaseces⁴ de numerario para cubrir las atenciones de las tropas de su mando. . . .

CUARTEL GRAL EN SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Octubre 17 de 1846.*

October 19, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria de Campaña.

E. S. Para que los Comandantes Generales puedan cumplir con sus deberes y con las restricciones á que los sujeta la nota circular que V. E. me traslada en su comunicación fecha 13 del corriente, es indispensable que se les provea de recursos para todos los gastos militares que ocurran en sus respectivos Estados, pues no contando como antes con las alcabalas,⁵ ni con los productos sobrantes del Tabaco⁶ van á encontrars econ mil compromisos. . . .

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Octubre 19 de 1846.*

¹ An unknown person.

² Comisaría.

³ An unknown person.

⁴ Escaseces.

⁵ The alcabalas were taxes collected at city gates on articles that were to enter for sale. On the recent return to the federal system, the revenue derived from them was assigned to the States, and therefore the Comandantes General, who were supported by the central government, no longer derived any benefit from them.

⁶ The tobacco business was a government monopoly, but certain surplus products had now been assigned to the States.

October 20, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria de Campaña.

E. S. La nota de V. E. fecha 12 del corriente me impone de las providencias que se han dictado para la pronta elaboración de pólvora con el fin de avastecer¹ de la que se necesita en la Plaza de Veracruz y en este Ejército.

El Supremo Gobierno ha debido hacer los mayores esfuerzos, como tengo manifestado á V. E. para proveer de polvora á las Plazas de Veracruz y Ulua, pues tal vez de ese combustible depende la defenza² de aquellas Plazas.³ . . .

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Obre 20 de 1846.*

October 20, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. General en Jefe. Secretaría de Campaña.

E. S. Con esta fecha digo al Sr. Comandante Gral de Va. Cruz⁴ lo que sigue:

"Siendo ya fuera de duda que las fuerzas navales de los E. U., intentan atacar esa Plaza y la Fortaleza de Ulua, he creido conveniente dictar á V. S. las prevenciones oportunas, para que la defenza de ambas plazas, dé buenos resultados, y honre las armas Nacionales. En el Castillo de Ulua, se estableceran los blindajes y guarda bombas necesarios y se hará el revestimiento de los pisos para neutralizar el efecto de los fuegos de elevación. Prevendrá V. S. al Comandante de aquel punto, que cuando se rompan los fuegos, toda la tropa se cubra bajo las bóvedas del castillo, quedándo únicamente en las baterias, los artilleros destinados al servicio de las piezas que se pongan en juego; y solo saldrán los precisos para relevar á los muertos y heridos. La tropa de infantería saldrá de su acuartelamiento en caso de un asalto para hacer la defenza que en ese caso le compete. Al Comandante de artilleria se le prevendrá la mayor economia en las municiones, de manera que pueda sostener por dilatado tiempo el fuego de Cañon, el que se procurará sea acertado para hacer el mayor daño posible al enemigo. Esta conducta se observará aunque aquel se empeñe en menudear sus fuegos, pues la afectada indiferencia por nuestra parte, y el aprovechamiento de nuestros tiros, le impon-

¹ Abastecer. The letters *b* and *v* in Spanish are pronounced almost alike, and one is often used for the other. Cf. Córdoba and Córdova.

² Pronounced in Mexico and properly spelled "defensa".

³ Here, it will be noted, Vera Cruz and Ulúa are both called plazas as above both were called fortalezas.

⁴ Vera Cruz. Usually the Mexicans wrote "Veracruz."

drá mas que un fuego repetido, que no de otro resultado que el gasto inútil de nuestras municiones. En dicha Fortaleza se establecerá, un hospital de sangre,¹ y por último, se almacenarán inmediatamente provisiones² de boca para dos meses. Observadas estas prevenciones es casi evidente que el Castillo de Ulua no puede ser tomado por las fuerzas de los E.³ Unidos, que lo ataquen. V. S. prevendrá al Comandante de aquel punto, que la Fortaleza que se ha puesto á su cargo, se ha de defender á toda costa y no ha de rendirse bajo ninguno pretexto.⁴ En cuanto á la plaza de Va. Cruz. V. S. debe estar persuadido que con cuatro mil hombres se defiende ventajosamente; y esa fuerza bien puede reunirse en ella, ya de tropa del Ejército como de milicias nacionales que de Puebla y ese Estado se han movido, segun las comunicaciones que tengo á la vista: En consecuencia V. S. procurará que todos los baluartes se cubran con la artilleria y fuerza competente, asi como los edificios interiores principales, particularmente los cuarteles que deben servir al Comandante Grál de la plaza de base de operaciones. Está por demas advertir á V. S. todas las medidas que puede tomar para la defenza de una ciudad como esa á mas de sus baluartes y murallas que la circundan, tiene en su centro, edificios fuertes para formar una segunda y tercera linea de fortificación impenetrables al enemigo, si se defienden con valor y destreza. Advirtiré á V. S. que debe hacerse desaparecer la idea de capitulación, y que prefiero saber que han desaparecidos las Fortalezas de Va. Cruz y Ulua y que sus defensores han quedado sepultados bajo sus escombros, que la noticia de haber sido humillado el pabellon nacional con un tratado ó capitulación indignos del nombre Mexicano.

Como General en Jefe del Ejército de la República prevengo á V. S. se arregle á estas prevenciones; y no dude que la divisa de esos valientes será siempre vencer ó morir en defenza de los sagrados derechos de la Patria.”

Trasládolo á V. E. para conocimiento del E. S. Grál encargado del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo, y para que por su parte se cuide del mas exacto cumplimiento de las prevenciones que hago al citado Comandante Grál, por tender todas ellas al mejor servicio de la Nación.

Tengo el honor de renovar á V. E., las protestas de mis consideraciones y particular aprecio.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GENERAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Octubre 20 de 1846.*

¹ Military hospital.

² Provisiones.

³ Estados.

⁴ Pretexto.

October 22, 1846.

The corps of Sappers [*Zapadores*] has been almost destroyed.¹
SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 23, 1846.

On the 14th Ampudia wrote to me as follows: On the 3d the Americans bombarded the Hacienda del Molino,² having heard you were marching in that direction. General Taylor has sent to Camargo the Volunteers whose time is out.³

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 25, 1846.

Reservada. Taylor has received orders to advance on San Luis Potosí.⁴ He will have 24,000 men and will advance November 21. Send me troops.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 25, 1846.

Reservada. Ampudia's troops⁵ have arrived here "in a state so afflicting that it has touched the most unfeeling heart."⁶ Nakedness, hunger, and misery are the colors of the picture." I have exhausted my funds in aiding them. Yesterday the Fourth brigade advanced about thirty miles toward Saltillo to observe the enemy.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 26, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. El E. S. Gobernador del Estado de Coahuila con fecha 19 del presente me dice lo que copio:

"E. S. El Sr. Jefe Politico del Departamento de Monclova con fecha 14 del actual por conducto de la Sria. de Gobierno me dice lo siguiente. El Fiel⁷ de Tabacos de Rio Grande, en carta de 8 del corriente me dice entre otras cosas lo que sigue. "Antes de ayer se retiró con su fuerza para el interior el Sr. Castañeda⁸ dejandonos en

¹ This corps had taken part in the battles of May 8 and 9 and in the defense of Monterey.

² We have no details regarding this trifling affair.

³ Ampudia probably referred to the discharge of a body of Texan horse.

⁴ All the information contained in this letter was incorrect.

⁵ The troops that had endeavored to defend Monterey against Gen. Taylor.

⁶ The troops left Monterey on Sept. 26-28 in a fairly good state, and fell back to the well-stocked city of Saltillo. Mexican soldiers were usually in want; but one suspects that Santa Anna here darkened the picture intentionally in order to obtain funds.

⁷ Inspector.

⁸ Nothing is known of this officer.

manos del enemigo,¹ que indefectiblemente debe llegar hoy al rio pues los espías los dejaron aller en el paraje de la Cueva distante como tres leguas del paso y diciendo á mas que su campo ocupaba cerca de una legua, con todo el tren de carros, persuadiendose en que deben ser de cuatro á cinco mil hombres. En tan criticas circunstancias no encontramos mas arbitrio que avanzar una comision con el objeto de saber que garantias nos guardan, para en caso contrario ver el camino que tomamos ó á que nos resolvemos: puede suceder que no concluya esta sin saber el resultado, que comunicaré en parrafo separado si lo hubiere. El Administrador de Correos me dice que en el supuesto que los militares corrian la valija no puede haber quien la lleve mañana; y nos resolvimos á mandar nuestras comunicaciones con propio hasta San Fernando.² A las doce de este dia que ya tenia cerrada la comunicaci3n adjunta llego uno de los de la comision que se hallaban en el rio y dice que lla³ habia en su Margen cosa de tres mil Americanos, diciendole que se volviese á decir á las autoridades del pueblo que todas pasasen para arreglar aquel asunto, y que asegure⁴ á las familias que en manera alguna serian atropelladas, que no se moviesen. . . .”

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Octubre 26 de 1846.*

October 28, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. La Brigada de Infanteria de Jalisco ha llegado á este Cuartel Grál el dia 25 del corriente con la fuerza de mil trescientos cuarenta y cinco hombres, pero la mayor parte estan desnudos y trescientos diez y siete desarmados. Han llegado tambien con la misma, seis piezas de los calibres de á 8, 6, 4 y 2 y las tres de á 24 vienen en camino. . . .

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRÁL EN SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Octubre 28 de 1846.*

October 30, 1846.

Santa Anna speaks of the occupation of California by the United States⁵ as *ese acontecimiento fatal que siento sobremanera.*

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

¹ A part of Gen. John E. Wood's command, which had concentrated at San Antonio, Tex., and began to march thence on Sept. 25 *en route*, according to the orders of our government, for the city of Chihuahua.

² One cannot be sure which place of that name is referred to.

³ This should be written, as it was pronounced, "ya."

⁴ Asegurase.

⁵ Monterey, Calif., was occupied on July 7 by forces under the orders of Commodore John D. Sloat, commanding the United States Pacific squadron, and all the chief points of the province were soon under American control.

October 30, 1846.

The Governor of Guanajuato is now cooperating with me vigorously.
SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 30, 1846.

I understand the main road [*Camino Principal*] from Vera Cruz is to be fortified as far as the heights [*cumbres*] of Acultzingo.¹

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 30, 1846.

The resignation of the Comandante General² of Jalisco should not be accepted.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

October 31, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

Exmo. Sr. Como que cada día se aumenta la fuerza de este Ejército de mi mando, que hoy tiene ya reunidos catorce mil hombres en veintisiete Batallones diez y seis Cuerpos de Caballería a los que deben incorporarse muy pronto los que conduce del Estado de Guanajuato el E. S. Grál Dn. Gabriel Valencia, lo cual produce un gasto enorme; ocasionando tambien un egreso de mucha consideración 30 tiros de mulas del Tren de Artillería con sus cocheros, capataces y mayordomos.

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Octubre 31 de 1846.*

November 2, 1846.

I have ordered three cannon "de á 24"³ from Jalisco, and they will be here soon; but there are absolutely no balls for them. Send 2,000 "as soon as possible" from the capital, Perote or Vera Cruz.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. El 27 del proximo pasado evacuó la Ciudad de Santa Anna de Tamaulipas⁴ la guarnicion que allí existia, compuesta de mil

¹ A point at the edge of the plateau where the road from Vera Cruz via Arizaba to the interior debouched from the mountains.

² J. M. Yáñez.

³ Practically equivalent to 24-pounders.

⁴ Tampico, sometimes referred to under this name in compliment to Santa Anna, who wrested the city from the Spanish forces under Barradas in 1829. The city was taken by American forces under Commodore David Conner on Nov. 14, 1846.

ciento setenta y nueve hombres de tropa, incluso como doscientos enfermos, con dos piezas de artillería, una de á ocho y otra de á seis; habiéndose mandado subir por el río¹ hasta el estero del Choy, las dos lanchas, y la artillería restante, que he dispuesto se conduzca por Villa de Valles de la manera posible hasta Tula. . . .

La Ciudad de Santa Anna de Tamaulipas á donde recidia² dicha guarnición ni ha sido ni es una plaza fuerte,³ carece de fortificaciones suficientes para pódese hacer una defensa con buen éxito, cuando el enemigo podía, como iba⁴ á hacerlo, atacar á su salvo por mar y tierra, sin que despues quedase otro arbitrio á la pequeña Guarnición que la cubria que rendirse⁵ á discreción. . . .

Ademas esta fuerza se necesita toda para resistir el grueso del Ejército enemigo, que se prepara para llegar hasta aquí de un modo imponente. Auxiliar á Tampico por mar era tambien imposible porque es sabido, que todos los puertos estan bloqueados y ni Veracruz que era de donde podia recibir algun auxilio, esta en disposición de poder prestarlo.

Situada en la Ciudad de San Antonio de Tula la fuerza que se puede decir se ha salvado de caer, en manos del enemigo, podra allí reponerse en salud y en vestuario, del que procuraré enviarle cuanto me sea posible desde aquí, como tambien haberes mensuales para sacar esa tropa de la miseria que la agobiaba, en virtud de que cerrado⁶ el puerto de Tampico ya no habia en la aduana arbitrio alguno para socorrerla. Ultimamente, para mis convinaciones⁷ militares es conveniente la conservación de una fuerza respetable en Tula, como la voy á situar para que pueda obrar á su tiempo sobre Nuevo Leon ó Tamaulipas cuyos Estados deberan observar entre tanto, desde aquella posición ventajosa.⁸

Sirvase⁹ V. E. ponerlo todo en conocimiento del E. S. Gral encargado del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo y admitir las protestas de mi consideración y aprecio.¹⁰

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Novembre 4, 1846.*

¹ The Pánuco.

² Residia.

³ This was not true, but Santa Anna so states because he was blamed for ordering the place evacuated.

⁴ Iba. We have no evidence that Conner intended to do this. He had not an adequate landing force.

⁵ Rendirse.

⁶ Cerrado.

⁷ Combinaciones.

⁸ Ventajosa.

⁹ Sirvase.

¹⁰ Santa Anna was bitterly blamed and even called a traitor for ordering the evacuation of Tampico; but from the military point of view he was right, even though he exaggerated the difficulty of holding the place.

November 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. El E. S. Gobernador del Estado de Coahuila con fecha 26 del pasado me dice lo que còpio.

"E. S. El S.¹ Jefe Politico del Departamento de Monclova² en nota de 21 del actual, por conducto de la Sria. de Gobierno, me comunica lo que sigue. El Jefe Politico del partido de Rio Grande con fecha 10 del corriente me dice lo que sigue. Despues de haber participado á V. S. en nota fecha 2 del corriente que las fuerzas³ de los Estados Unidos estaban en la Leona,⁴ fueron otros espías á observar sus movimientos y regresaron estos el 5 con la noticia de hallarse á tres jornadas del Rio Bravo,⁵ de cuyas resultas se retiró el 6 por la Villa de Gigido⁶ el S. Comandante de la Linea con la pequeña fuerza que tenia á sus ordenes; el 7 que consideré estarian aquellas mas inmediatas al Rio, acordé con el Ayuntamiento y otros hombres notables recabar en carta particular, del Grál que los comanda algunas garantias en favor de las poblaciones de mi cargo, de lo contrario nos concederia el tiempo necesario para abandonar nuestros hogares, cuya carta la condujo un propio y regresó éste la mañana del 8 con la noticia de haber llegado las fuerzas indicadas al vado del Pacuache⁷ y ademas me trajo el mensaje berval⁸ de parte de su Jefe que fuera mi individuo acompañado del Alcalde⁹ á tener con el una entrevista, en efecto fuimos á su campo y nos recibio con mucha cordialidad, diciendonos que sus tropas no venian á hacer la guerra á los pueblos de México, sino á obligar al Gobierno á rendirle Justicia á los Estados Unidos, aconsejandonos estar quietos sin tomar las armas contra sus tropas en cuyo caso seríamos protegidos nuestras personas y propiedades, y por último esperaba que estos habitantes franquearan á sus tropas los viveres que estuvieren en sus posibilidades cuyas valores serian pagados á precios liberales; aqui se termino nuestra entrevista y nos retiramos á esta Villa: el 9 recibí de aquel Jefe la contestación que en cópia incluyo á V. S.: en ella estan expresadas las mismas condiciones y seguridades que acabo de referir. Hoy tambien entro á esta Villa una fuerza de Caballería y esta situada en los suburbios¹⁰ de la misma, el resto de las fuerzas quedan aun en el rio con todos sus

¹ Señor.

² An important city in the State of Nuevo León.

³ Under Gen. Wool.

⁴ Between San Antoine, Tex., and the Rio Grande.

⁵ Another name for the Rio Grande. In full it was Rio Bravo del Norte.

⁶ A small place not far from the Rio Grande.

⁷ Near the present town of Eagle Pass, Tex.

⁸ Verbal.

⁹ An official combining the powers of mayor, magistrate and paterfamilias.

¹⁰ Suburbios.

trenes de viveres, de boca y guerra, su número sera como de dos mil hombres de tropa de linea, y se dice que atras vienen iguales fuerzas. . . .

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, Nbrē¹ 4 de 1846.

November 5, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Secretaria de Campaña.

E. Sr. Por la comunicación de V. E. fecha 28 del mes anterior, me he impuesto de que ya se ha mandado venir á este Cuartel Grál la bateria de piezas de Artilleria de grueso calibre, con sus municiones correspondientes, que yo habia pedido hace algun tiempo; y que se me envian ademas doscientos cajones de cartuchos de fusil,² una dotación completa de municiones para seis piezas de á doce, y ocho de á ocho,³ veinticinco quintales de polvora de fusil y cañon, y todo el armamento que se halle en esa Capital en Estado de servicio. . . .

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI á 5 de Noviembre de 1846.

November 7, 1846.

Unless the Department of Hacienda ⁴ "with efforts that may be called inconceivable, considering the situation of the National treasury," provides the necessary funds" (especially for Vera Cruz) all our struggles will be in vain. Let the acting President ⁵ "increase his efforts and omit no step that can help to prevent the name of Mexico from soon being the object of ridicule and contempt for the whole world."⁷

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 9, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. . . . que no hay [dinero] ni para cubrir la 2^a quincena del presente mes que ascenderá á 150,000 pesos, y tanto mas es urgente este dinero, cuanto que tengo escalonadas hasta Matehuala camino del Saltillo 55 leguas⁸ de aquí, varias Brigadas de Caballeria, á las que

¹ Noviembre.

² Fusil.

³ Substantially equivalent to 12-pounders and 9-pounders.

⁴ Treasury.

⁵ The government had neither funds nor credit. It could only borrow with the utmost difficulty and on ruinous terms.

⁶ Still Gen. Salas.

⁷ Since the writer understood the financial situation perfectly, these words must be taken to signify that he demanded recourse to the property of the Roman Catholic church, the only available wealth of the country.

⁸ About 143 miles.

debe socorrerse con anticipación, lo mismo que á la División de observación que he situado en San Antonio de Tula camino de Tampico 50 leguas¹ de este Cuartel Grál.

Es por tanto necesario, absolutamente indispensable que por extraordinario ó por mulas á la ligera se me mande la suma citada de 150,000 pesos, para cubrir el presupuesto del presente mes. . . .

que lo menos se necesitan mensualmente para solo el haber de los cuerpos que componen este Ejército 300,000 pesos y poco mas de 50,000 pesos para proveer á los talleres que trabajan en vestuarios elaboración de municiones, maestranza, construcción de monturas, recomposición de armas, compra de Caballos, hospital y fortificaciones; y este cálculo es del minimun á que puede reducirse el presupuesto mensual. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Noviembre 9 de 1846.*

November 11, 1846.

"With enough regret" I have read yours of the 6th with news from General M. Martinez² of the revolt of Presidial Companies³ at Aldama, Chihuahua—the Companies of Chihuahua and San Buena Ventura.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 11, 1846.

I can send no troops to Chihuahua. I have no men and no money to spare.
SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 11, 1846.

General Isidro Reyes is on the frontier between Zacatecas and Durango.
SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 12, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

Exmo. Sr. Me he enterado con satisfacción de la nota de V. E. de 6 del actual en la que me transcribe la que le pasó el E. S. Ministro de Justicia con igual fecha, y circuló á los Exmos. Sres. Gobernadores

¹ About 125 miles.

² Presumably Santa Anna refers to Mariano Martinez de Lejarza, regarding whom nothing of importance is known.

³ In the colonial period of Mexico Spain guarded the northern frontier against the Indians by establishing a chain of forts ("presidios"), held by what were called Presidial Companies. Under Mexican rule the system was virtually given up, and the Companies had at this time become few, small, and almost worthless.

⁴ See note 2 on the second letter of Oct. 12, supra.

de los Estados exitandolos para que los reos que deban ser sentenciados á la pena de presidio sean destinados al trabajo de las fortificaciones de la frontera para la defenza de nuestra República. . . .

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Noviembre 12 de 1846.*

November 12, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Con fecha 10 del corriente dije al E. S. Gobernador de este Estado¹ lo siguiente. “E. S. A los Sres Gral Jefes de las Brigadas de Caballeria, que se hallan fuera de este Cuartel Gral les he dirigido la comunicaci3n siguiente. Entretanto esten ocupados los Estados de la frontera por las fuerzas invasoras de los E. U. del Norte, no permitiré V. S. que por ningun motivo ni pretesto que individuo alguno pase al Saltillo 3 Monterrey sin pasaporte firmado por mi, cuidando V. S. de esta manera y de cuantas mas le dicte su celo, que el enemigo no sepa nada de nuestras operaciones.”²

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Nbre 12 de 1846.*

November 16, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña. Urgente.

E. S. . . . Yo estoy sorprendido de que el Supremo Gobierno se desentienda del primer asunto que debia ocupar su atenci3n, y es el de proveer de recursos á estas tropas para su subsistencia, y para los preparativos que la Guerra exige, siendo constante que casi todo es necesario crearlo de nuevo. Es de notarse igualmente, que ni los materiales, ni los objetos mas presisos³ que he pedido á esa Capital se me hayan remitido. Asi mismo debe advertirse, que la contribuci3n establecida por decreto de 2 de Octubre sobre arrendamientos de fincas 3 inquilinatos, dedicada exclusivamente para los gastos de la guerra, y que debio producir en el momento gruesas sumas en esa Capital y en los Estados, no se haya enviado aqui como era consiguiente, y solo algunas sumas pequenas que ya se han gastado no solo en el haber de las tropas, si no en los gastos extraordinarios y urgentes que se estan haciendo en mil objetos diferentes, seg3n comuniqué á V. E. en mi nota citada de 10 del corriente.

¹ San Luis Potosí.

² In this way Santa Anna kept Taylor in the dark, and almost surprised him on Feb. 22, 1847, the first day of the battle of Buena Vista.

³ Precisos.

En tal virtud, mi deber me impone hacer una solemne protesta de no ser responsable de los males que el servicio público pueda resentir por quedar este Ejército abandonado á su triste suerte; y manifestar á V. E. la necesidad en que me veré para cubrir mi responsabilidad y mi reputación, de publicar por la prensa las comunicaciones relativas, las cantidades que únicamente se me han remitido en mes y medio, su distribución y el deficiente que resulta en el presupuesto del presente mes. . . .

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Noviembre 16 de 1846.*

November 17, 1846.

José Antonio Heredia¹ accepts the command in chief of the forces of Durango and Chihuahua.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 17, 1846.

The Comandante General of Chiapas writes that the American war has "revived" in combination with Central America.²

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 18, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. En atención á la suma escases³ de recursos que hay en la Comisaría grál. de este Ejército, segun lo he manifestado á V. E. repetidas veces, y á que no se me han remitido los caudales suficientes para los crecidos gastos que tienen que hacerse, segun habrá V. E. visto en mis comunicaciones relativas, y á fin de que no falten auxilios á este benemérito Ejército entretanto los remited el Supremo Gobierno, me he visto precisado á dirigir á los Sres. Administradores de Tabacos de Aguas Calientes, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, Michoacan, Querétaro y Jalisco y el de esta ciudad la comunicación siguiente.

"Dispondrá V.⁴ que toda el dinero existente en esa Admón.⁵ de su cargo y de los productos de todas las oficinas foraneas Subalternas, quedan exclusivamente detenidos para las atenciones que debe cubrir la comisaría de este Ejército, remitiéndolo en el momento á este

¹ Heredia was a Mexican by birth and now about forty-seven years old. He was not highly esteemed, and the part that he played in the inglorious campaign against Doniphan amply justified his reputation.

² The writer probably has reference to American naval operations and to threats of Guatemalan hostilities, but the United States had no such relations with any part of Central America as he suspected.

³ Escasez. These two forms of the word were pronounced alike in Mexico.

⁴ Usted.

⁵ Administración.

cuartel gräl. á la orden del comisario, bien sea en letras ó en metálico, sin excusa ni pretesto alguno observando el mismo sistema todos los meses. Por consecuencia de esta determinación suspenderá V. bajo su responsabilidad el pago de toda clase de ordenes que haga contra esta Admōn.¹ y solo tomará lo muy preciso para cubrir el sueldo de los empleados en ella y el de la fábrica . . .”

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Noviembre 18, 1846.*

November 19, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gräl en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Increible parece que cuando el enemigo avanza sobre este Cuartel Gräl y cuando del exito de la proxima lucha, depende quiza la suerte de esta Nación se vean con tanta indiferencia los pedidos de dinero y municiones. . . .

No se me responda que el Gobierno no tiene de donde sacar recursos, porque eso equivaldria á decir que la Nación de hecho habra dejado de existir; ni yo con tal contestación podria en ningún caso quedar conforme, porque con ella no alimento á estos soldados ni proporciono los materiales de guerra que me faltan y aun el vestuario para estos buenos servidores de la Nación que la mayor parte se hallan desnudos porque se ha descuidado tambien mandarles las prendas que con repetición tengo pedidas. Una Nacion tan rica como lo es la República Mexicana, no puede carecer de los recursos precisos para sostener nada menos que su independencia;² ni tampoco el Gobierno actual no puede decir que le faltan facultades para buscarlos,³ porque las tiene dictatoriales.⁴ Por esto es que se inculpe agriamente al Gobierno por los que saben que estos militares, estan condenados á una muerte cierta, privados de los recursos de defenza⁵ indispensables y del dinero para satisfacer las necesidades de la vida y del vestuario para cubrir su desnudes,⁶ todo lo cual poderia estar ya en este Cuartel Gräl, atendido el tiempo que ha transcurrido desde que me dirigi al Ministerio sobre el asunto.

¿Quien ha dicho que en casos tales, los Gobiernos no pueden dictar medidas extraordinarias? . . .

Ni crea el E. S. Gral encargado del S. P.⁷ Ejecutivo que puede haber nunca disculpa para su conducta, respecto á tener este Ejército, sin

¹ This letter illustrates the arbitrary methods by which Santa Anna was accustomed to obtain funds. In other cases as much disregard was shown for justice as was here shown for law.

² Here again Santa Anna pointed at the property of the Church.

³ Santa Anna's purpose was to force the government to lay hands upon Church property.

⁴ At this time Mexico was under a revolutionary, military despotism.

⁵ Pronounced in Mexico and properly spelled "defensa."

⁶ Desnudez.

⁷ Supremo Poder.

dinero, sin armas ni municiones; y yo desde ahora protesto acusarlo, asi como á sus Ministros, ante la Nación si por su culpa los invasores lograsen alguna ventaja. . . .

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Nbre 19 de 1846.*

November 21, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano, General en Jefe. Secretaria de Campaña.

E. S. He recibido la comunicación de V. E. fecha 14 del corriente en que me acompaña copia de traducciones de algunos periodicos de los E. Unidos,¹ relativos á la guerra actual. He visto en ellas confirmados mis calculos respecto á la intención de aquel Gobierno y plan de operaciones trazado al Grál Taylor, y por eso precisamente me apresuré á ordenar se evacuase la Ciudad de Tampico por las tropas nacionales, y á situar una División de observacion en la vila de Tula² de Tamaulipas.

SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Novembre 21 de 1846.*

November 21, 1846.

The story that a conducta³ of silver was robbed at Tampico is false. General Urrea⁴ asked the conductor for a loan of 10,000 pesos. The latter refused to make the loan, having no orders to do so from the owners; but Urrea, "employing the means of persuasion", succeeded in getting it.⁵

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 21, 1846.

The legislature of Coahuila made a protest against invasion and dissolved when the enemy approached.⁶ On the 16th Taylor with 1,404 men and four cannon occupied Saltillo.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

November 30, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Urgente.

E. S. . . . No ha valido que yo haya recordado, ni el grande peligro de la Patria, ni el sagrado deber que tiene el Supremo Gobi-

¹ Estados Unidos.

² San Antonio de Tula.

³ By "conducta" was usually meant a convoy of pack-mules carrying bars of silver.

⁴ José Urrea was a man of polished manners, but with the character of a brigand.

⁵ The "means of persuasion" were doubtless threats that, unless the money was paid over, something worse would happen.

⁶ Generals Taylor and Worth set out from Monterey for Saltillo on Nov. 13 with about 1,000 men. The protest was delivered to Taylor on the 16th as he was approaching his destination. Of course it had no effect.

erno de auxiliar á esas tropas, que estan en visperas de verter su sangre por la independencia nacional, ni mi grande compromiso, ni la desesperada condición en que me encuentro; el Gobierno parece que ha creído, que son infundadas mis quejas, y esta idea aumenta la amargura de mi corazon. . . .¹

SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Noviembre 30 de 1846.*

December 3, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Con esta fecha digo al E. S. Gobernador del Estado de Jalisco lo que sigue.

"E. S. Con esta fecha digo al Sr. Administrador de Rentas de San Juan de los Lagos² lo que sigue. "El Sr. Coronel D. José López de Uruga³ va á esa población con el objeto de recoger el producto de los derechos que por todos ramos produzca la feria⁴ que actualmente tiene lugar en esa misma población, cuyo producido voy á destinarlo á los gastos de este Ejército. . . ."

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Diciembre 3 de 1846.*

December 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Por momentos crecen mis conflictos, pues al paso que veo moverse al enemigo por diferentes direcciones, yo no puedo mover una sola Brigada para ningun punto, porque no hay ni un solo peso en la comisaria hace tres dias. Acabo de recibir parte del Gobernador de Nuevo Leon del Grál Canales,⁵ que han llegado á ciudad Morelos⁶ dos mil hombres⁷ procedentes de Camargo⁸ con su tren de artilleria.

¹ The government was in fact anxious to do all that was in its power to obtain funds for the army.

² A town in the State of Jalisco where an annual fair was held.

³ José López Uruga was colonel of the Fourth Infantry (Permanent), and figured prominently at the battles of May 8 and 9, 1846, the defence of Monterey, and the battle of Cerro Gordo.

⁴ The fair of Lagos was an important commercial event. Wagons engaged in the caravan trade starting from Independence, Missouri, went there via Santa Fe, New Mexico.

⁵ Antonio Canales was a frontier ruffian commanding irregular troops, who operated near the Rio Grande.

⁶ A small place, called also Montemorelos, in the State of Tamaulipas.

⁷ This probably has reference to the Second Tennessee Volunteers and a portion of the Second Infantry (regulars) which moved from Camargo to Montemorelos at about this time.

⁸ The town already mentioned as lying on the San Juan River.

y que el Grál Taylor se movia de Monterrey ¹ con tres mil hombres y un gran tren para aquel punto, á fin de continuar á Ciudad Victoria, pues parece que la idea es atravesar la Sierra ² y colocarse en la Villa de Tula de Tamaulipas,³ para establecer desde este lugar su linea de comunicaci3n hasta Tampico.

Como en Tula tengo situada una Divisi3n de dos mil hombres á las ordenes del Grál Don José Urrea, y esta posicion es necesario conservarla á toda costa, es indispensable reforzar aquella y aun fortificar el punto; pero no me es posible mover un soldado de este cuartel grál porque con trabajo solo se ha podido conseguir el rancho de estos dos dias. . . .

Las cureñas para las piezas que estan sin ellas, las balas de cañ3n y los demas materiales que he solicitado, hacen notable falta. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Diciembre 4 del 1846.*

December 4, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

Exmo Sr. A los Exmos Sres Gobernadores de los Estados de Jalisco, Puebla, Zacatecas, Oaxaca, Guanajuato, México, Queretaro, Michoacan, Aguascalientes y este de San Luis digo con fecha de hoy lo que sigue.

"Exmo Sr. El Gobierno de los Estados Unidos que en su delirio ha pensado llevar á efecto la conquista de la República ó la mayor parte de ella, pone todos los medios para realizar tan atrevido pensamiento y al efecto, hace avanzar sus fuerzas, en varias direcciones, animado de la confianza que le inspiraron los pequeños triunfos que adquirio por sucesos casuales, y por el abandono con que la pasada Administraci3n ⁴ vio los sagrados intereses de la Naci3n. . . .

No me queda mas arbitrio, que ocurrir al patriotismo de V. E. para que penetrado del conflicto Nacional y del mio particular por la falta de medios para llevar á cabo la empresa que se me ha confiado de salvar al pais á cualquiera costa, se sirva dictar cuantas medidas esten en el circulo de sus facultades, para que inmediatamente se remita á este Cuartel General en dinero ó en libranzas, cuantos recursos pecuniarios tenga el Estado de su digno mando, sin atender al contingente que tiene señalado por la Ley." . . .

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Dbre ⁵ 4 de 1846.*

¹ This news was premature, but apparently Mexican spies found out that Gen. Taylor intended to make such a movement, as he did about the middle of Dec., 1846.

² The Sierra Madre.

³ Taylor had no such intention. The plan was not feasible. Santa Anna probably knew this; and perhaps his purpose in writing as he did was to stimulate the government.

⁴ That of Paredes.

⁵ Diciembre.

December 5, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. El Sr. Comisario Grál de este Ejército con fecha de hoy me dice lo que sigue.

"E. S. Con esta fecha digo á los Sres Ministros de la Tesorería Grál de la Nación lo que copio. A las des de la tarde del dia de hoy, no tenia la generalidad de los Cpos¹ que componen este Ejército el indispensable rancho para la mantención del soldado, apesar de los multiplicados esfuerzos que han sido puestos en práctica con el laudable objeto de evitar llegase este conflicto, verdaderamente lamentable, en circunstancias todas de vida ó de muerte para la Nación. Degradando aun la dignidad de mi empleo, he podido conseguir á estas horas, que son las cuatro de la tarde, se me franquee por un comerciante de esta Ciudad, la cantidad de tres mil pesos, que como V. S. S.² deben conocer, no es bastante para cubrir ni las atenciones de un dia." . . .

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Dbre 5 de 1846.*

December 7, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Cuando esperaba auxilios de alguna consideración para cubrir las inmensas erogaciones de este Ejército supuestos los ofrecimientos que oficialmente me ha hecho el Supremo Gobierno y el Exmo. S. Ministro de Hacienda en lo particular; he recibido el dia de ayer solamente la miserable suma de veinte mil pesos, que no basta á satisfacer ni el haber de dos dias, segun el presupuesto general que he dirigido a ese Ministerio. Desde el dia 30 del ppdo dirigí á V. E. una nota en que le hice presente que para el siguiente dia en que comenzaba el mes actual, no tenia la Comisaría un solo peso en sus cajas, antes bien se encontraba con un deficiente de consideración, que tenía su origen de los préstamos que algunos particulares habian hecho bajo mi garantia personal; de entonces acá con mil trabajos se ha conseguido el rancho del soldado y se encuentran paralizadas todas las oficinas y talleres de fundición, devestuario, de maestranza y recomposición de armas, y hasta las obras de fortificación, porque no hay con qué pagar los jornales que veneen los trabajadores. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Diciembre 7 de 1846.*

¹ Cuerpos.

² Vueseñorías (Vuestras Señorías).

December 7, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. El E. S. Gobernador del Estado de Coahuila desde la Villa de Parras¹ con fecha 30 del pasado me dice lo que còpio.

"E. S. El 24 del corriente han salido las fuerzas que ocupaban la Ciudad de Monclova² al mando del Gral Dn. Juan Wool para situarse en este punto del que hoy distan menos de veinte leguas. En Monclova se han quedado dos Compañías de Infanteria y una de Caballeria formando todas ellas el número de trescientos hombres. Las fuerzas que en dos dias deben ocupar esta Villa, se componen de dos mil setecientos incluyendo las que dirigen los carros que llegan á docientos ochenta de los que la mayor parte caminan vacios y el resto con equipajes tiendas de campaña, municiones y pocos viveres. Solo cuatrocientos de esta fuerza son veteranos y el resto de voluntarios de Texas³ indisciplinados: ⁴ de Caballeria son seiscientos, y la artilleria la forman ocho piezas 4 de á 8 y cuatro de á menos calibre. Con este movimiento del enemigo que tengo el honor de comunicar á V. E. no queda un pueblo del Estado libre de sus armas."

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, Dbre 7 de 1846.

December 7, 1846.

The Governor of Coahuila wrote at Parras, November 30, that Wool on leaving Monclova took provisions by force without paying.⁵ No such case occurred at Saltillo.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

December 8, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. El Sr. Coronel Dn. José López Uruga en carta particular fecha de ayer en San Juan de los Lagos, entre otras cosas me dice lo que còpio.

¹ A sizable city in the State of Coahuila.

² Wool occupied Monclova on Oct. 29 and left it on Nov. 24, 1846.

³ Wool's force consisted of a battery of eight pieces, a squadron of the First Dragoons, a squadron of the Second Dragoons, a regiment of Arkansas horse, three companies of the Sixth Infantry (regulars), one company of Kentucky foot, and the First and Second Illinois regiments: in all about 3,400 at the beginning of his march.

⁴ Indisciplinados.

⁵ The correctness of this statement is very doubtful, for Wool was extremely anxious to give the people no cause of complaint. But he left troops at Monclova and some accounts may have remained open. It is also possible, though not probable, that he punished some Mexican, who refused to sell his wheat, by taking the grain.

"El Sr. Gral Armijo¹ se presentó en San Juan, custodiando casi, á porción de Americanos con veintisiete carros cargados de efectos del Norte con guías de Chihuahua. Esto el comercio lo ha visto con disgusto. . . . Parece que entre estos Yankes y el Sr. Armijo hay asosiasiones² ó intereses. . . ."³

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Dbre 8 de 1846.*

December 8, 1846.

The Comandante General of Chiapas⁴ wrote on November 8 that the American troops which occupied Santa Fe in August are still there, about 650 miles from Chihuahua City: 2,000 men, 22 cannon.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

December 9, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. . . . El Sr. Cōrl retirado Dn. Francisco Lojero⁵ con fecha 23 de Octubre último me dice lo que sigue. . . .

"En los 41 dias que han trascurrido ha sido de absoluta necesidad proveer á los enfermos de frasadas⁶ y hacer otros gastos cuyos cargos remito con esta fecha á la citada comisaria, y con ellos asciende la deuda á ocho cientos pesos; mientras que los facultativos, contratadores, practicantes y demas serviciales de estos hospitales no han recibido mas que cosa de paga y media desde el 18 de Mayo en que salió el Ejército de esta ciudad hasta la fecha; y por consiguiente han vendido unos y empeñado otros, sus caballos, sillas, armas y ropa para subsistir, y habiendo concluido con sus prendas me he visto en el caso en el presente mes de anticiparles las raciones de Noviembre y Diciembre venideros; y hoy que ya debiera el Cuerpo Médico marchar para ese cuartel Grál no lo puede verificar, porque concluyeron con sus propios recursos, con los mios, y no hay quien preste dinero ni con premio exorbitante. . . ."

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Diciembre 9 de 1846.*

¹ Manuel Armijo, lately Governor and Comandante General of New Mexico, ousted by the American forces under Gen. S. W. Kearny. He was deeply interested in the caravan trade.

² Asociaciones.

³ The suspicion was doubtless well founded, though to what extent it was correct one cannot say.

⁴ A Mexican State bordering on Guatemala.

⁵ Nothing is known of this officer.

⁶ Enfermos de frasadas [frazadas]. This unusual expression (blanket-sick) appears to mean invalids or convalescents.

December 11, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Los dos mil fusiles que he solicitado, cada dia son mas precisos¹ porque á los reclutas no se les puede dar la instrucción necesaria por falta de ellos, y porque existen en este Ejército mas de dos mil quinientos hombres desarmados completamente.

CUARTEL GRÁL EN SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Dbre 11 de 1846.*

December 12, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

Exmo. Sr. Quedo impuesto por la nota de V. E. fecha 25 del pasado de la que dirigió el E. S. Gobernador del Estado de Chihuahua al Ministro de Relaciones manifestando el riesgo de que se apoderace² el enemigo de la Capital de dicho Estado: en consecuencia he dispuesto que el Sr. Gral D. Mariano Martinez que vino á este Cuartel Gral en comisión segun tengo dicho á V. E., regrese conduciendo el 6° Regimiento de Caballería y trescientos Infantes de Zacatecas y el 7° de Infanteria que está en Durango con cien Dragones,³ supuesto tambien que hay noticias de que el Gral Wool que se halla en Parras se dirige á dicho Estado.⁴

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Dbre 12 de 1846.*

December 12, 1846.

I desire to report the "inhuman and irregular conduct" of General Taylor, who compelled the Mexican wounded to leave Monterey at a fixed time.⁵

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

December 14, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe.

E. S. Hoy estamos á 14 ó á mediados del mes que es lo mismo, y solo se han mandado por el E. S. Ministro de Hacienda cien mil

¹ Precisos.

² Apoderase.

³ About 255 men actually reached Chihuahua City.

⁴ Wool was expected by Santa Anna to carry into effect the original order to occupy Chihuahua, but for good reasons he received later instructions to join Gen. Taylor.

⁵ After the capture of Monterey Gen. Taylor permitted the Mexican wounded to remain there, and also permitted Mexican officers, medical men and others to remain and look after them. Through the latter classes of persons, especially the priests, attempts were made to seduce Roman Catholics belonging to the American army. Hence about the middle of November all officers not indispensably needed by the sick and wounded were ordered away. Santa Anna's charge seems therefore to be unfounded.

pesos, cuando sabe muy bien que el presupuesto del mes importa cerca de cuatrocientos mil que es el minimum á que he podido reducirlo estableciendo mil economías. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Diciembre 14 de 1846.*

December 17, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. General en Jefe. Secretaria de Campaña.¹

E. S. Ha sido en mi poder la comunicación de V. E. fecha 10 del actual en que se sirve contestar, á la vez, las mias de 4 y 6 del mismo, contraído la primera, a exitar á V. E. á que franqueara algunos recursos de ese Estado para cubrir en alguna parte los gastos crecidos de este Ejército de operaciones; y la segunda á comunicarle las ordenes libradas á ese Sr. Comandante Grál, para que pusiera en defensa al Estado, y publicara la ley marcial cuando las fuerzas de los Estados Unidos la invadiesen. Ninguna incompatibilidad existe entre una y otra comunicación como V. E. asienta equivocadamente, si se quiere advertir, que la del dia 4 fué circular á varios Gobernadores producida de las necesidades que me cercan sin poderlas cubrir por los motivos allí expuestos, y la del dia 6 dictada á consecuencia de las noticias, que en el mismo dia recibí, sobre los movimientos de la División enemiga, que actualmente se halla en la Villa de Parras. Reclamé los auxilios del Estado, porque tiene indudablemente la obligación mas estrecha de ayudar al Gobierno de la Unión cuando el peligro es comun, y nacional la defensa, sin que pueda decirse que por la índole de las instituciones que rigen hoy á la República,² está excusado de tomar participio en los esfuerzos que se hacen para evitar la dominación extranjera. Es verdad, que á consecuencia del restablecimiento del sistema federal se hizo la clasificación de rentas, que ha dado por resultado, que los Estados cuenten como propiedad suya, las que antes entraban en las cajas del Gobierno general, pero al disponerlo así el Legislador, contó sin duda, con que llegado el caso de una necesidad urgente, los Estados acudirían con alguna ó la mayor parte de sus rentas para el sostenimiento de la Independencia, y de la misma confederación. Asi como los Ciudadanos por la constitución están obligados á servir á la Patria en todos los casos que esta lo exija, asi las Provincias ó Estados de una nación cuando se trata de los prin-

¹ This is a copy of a letter addressed to the Governor of Zacatecas. When Santa Anna showed his intention in 1834 to destroy the federal constitution of Mexico and centralize the government with a view to making himself the supreme and autocratic ruler of the nation, that State, as well as Texas, exhibited a decided opposition to his wishes. It was therefore crushed by Santa Anna in a bloody and brutal manner, and never recovered its former status. Naturally he was intensely hated there, and in standing out against him now the governor merely represented the great majority of his constituents.

² Santa Anna refers to the federal system, revived since Aug. 4, 1846.

cipales intereses de ésta deben franquear cuantos elementos ó recursos tengan para la conservación de la comunidad. V. E. se manifiesta muy disgustado por haber prevenido al Sr. Comandante Grál de ese Estado, que cuando el enemigo llegue á la frontera, para la mejor defensa publique la ley marcial, y reasuma los mandos. No estoy conforme con los objeciones que V. E. hace á esta disposición, porque ella de ninguna manera ataca el sistema federal ni las libertades públicas. El caso es muy excepcional, y no establece un principio; debe pues considerarse solamente como una de tantas medidas de defensa á que la nación tiene derecho de ocurrir, cuando como hoy se ve agredida, por un enemigo que atropellando la justicia y el derecho de gentes intenta humillarla. En el tiempo que regió la constitución de 1824 varias veces se dieron facultades extraordinarias al Presidente de la República que naturalmente implicaba todas las que estan concedidas por la misma constitución al Cuerpo legislativo, y puntualmente en el año de 1829 con motivo de la invasión Española, el Congreso de aquella época acordó dichas facultades al benemérito Grál Guerrero,¹ que funcionaba de Presidente, y eran tan amplias, que fueron entonces calificadas de una dictadura, sin que se hubiera dicho por esto, que se atacaba la índole del sistema. Cuando la ley marcial no lleva por objeto un fin tan importante como el que se supone en el caso de una invasión extranjera; pues nada menos se trata de la salvación de la Independencia, claro es, que habría entonces razon no solamente para censurarla, sino para calificarla como atentoria contra las instituciones y la libertad civil; pero precisamente las naciones mas adelantadas en civilización, y de instituciones mas liberales, cuando se han encontrado en grandes conflictos, han apelado á aquel saludable é indispensable recurso, que facilita la acción del poder para ocurrir sin obstáculo á contener el mal, que de otro modo seria de difícil remedio. El Presidente de la República en el estado normal de la Nación, es verdad que no tiene facultades para declarar la ley marcial; mas sí las tiene el Grál en Jefe de un Ejército en campaña, cuando como en el caso presente, se le tiene encomendada la defensa del territorio, y la conservación de la Independencia nacional. Además, la practica de todas las naciones en casos idénticos al en que nosotros estamos, es bastante conocida, y solo un espíritu de oposicion, ó una falta de patriotismo, pudiera inculparme por haber dictado la disposición que ha causado el desagrado de V. E. cuando á la sazón reunía á las atribuciones de Grál en Jefe en campaña, las discrecionales de caudillo de la nación, y no obstante el noble sentimiento que la impulsó, y que no puede serle desconocido; así como, que no era posible que atacara el sistema federal, el mismo que tanta parte acaba de tener en su restablecimiento.² Sin embargo, para evitar arbitrarias interpre-

¹ Vicente Guerrero, who was soon overthrown by a revolution.

² In order to blot out as much as possible the remembrance of his autocratic rule, Santa Anna declared in Aug., 1846, for the reestablishment of the federal system.

taciones, hoy revoco aquella orden, según se impondrá V. E. en la transcripción que le hago por separado. . . .

V. E. lejos de mandar á este Ejército el contingente de hombres como lo han hecho los demás, ha entorpecido su remisión, faltando así á lo dispuesto por el Gobierno Supremo de la Nación, y para disculpar tan grave falta ha dicho sin embarazo á ese Sr. Comandante grál con fecha 25 del pasado, que no podía entregar el cupo señalado al Estado, porque sus convicciones y natural caracter se oponían á ello, por los respetos que exigen los derechos del hombre y de la humanidad. ¿ Y que calificación puede hacerse de semejante conducta, cuando la Patria reclama el auxilio de todos sus hijos, y el mismo código político que V. E. me cita, determina, que todos los Mexicanos están obligados á servirla cuando son llamados por la ley? ¿ la opinion particular de V. E. debe prevalecer á los mandatos de la ley, y las prevenciones de la autoridad suprema? ¿ No es cierto,¹ que si todos los funcionarios se expresaran en el sentido que lo hace V. E. deberíamos dar un adios á la libertad y á la independencia de la Patria? No es al Estado de Zacatecas al que yo he culpado cuando en mi comunicación del día 6 dije, que era escandaloso que en las actuales críticas circunstancias no diera señales de vida. He querido contraerme á sus autoridades, ó mejor dicho á V. E., que no ha sabido aprovecharse de la buena disposición de esos Ciudadanos, ni explotar su patriotismo acreditado de mil maneras. Cuando los principales Jefes de los pueblos dirigen á estos la palabra, y con su ejemplo exaltan el entusiasmo, rara vez se muestran apáticos en la defensa de sus derechos, y hacen con gusto toda clase de sacrificios para conservarlos; pero cuando esos mismos Jefes, no están inspirados por sentimientos de patriotismo, enervan con su conducta el entusiasmo de los ciudadanos, y he aquí porque no aparecen las señales de vida.² No haga V. E. á los Zacatecanos el agravio de suponerlos capaces de negarse á concurrir con sus personas y con sus recursos á la defensa del territorio nacional. Advierta V. E., que no es una cuestión personal, ni de partido la que ahora se sostiene, sino una causa justa, santa, y que á todos Mexicanos interesa; de la cual depende no solamente su material bienestar, sino su existencia política, y el rango que á la nación le corresponde entre las demás del mundo civilizado. Desgracia lamentable sería, que esos Ciudadanos en momentos de tanta consecuencia, no se prestaran al llamada de su primera autoridad, ni oyeran el clamor de la Patria que llama en su socorro á todos sus hijos. No haga V. E. esa injusticia á sus paisanos, ni calumnie su buen nombre con suposiciones que distan

¹ Cierto.

² Santa Anna's purpose here was to cause a division between the governor and the people and force the former to act.

mucho de la verdad. Hábleles V. E., exítelos con el lenguaje del patriotismo, y ellos ocurrirán á su llamada é imitarán el ejemplo de sus hermanos de Guanajuato, Jalisco, Veracruz, Puebla, Michoacan, San Luis Potosí y otros Estados de la federación, que han enviado gran porcion de sus hijos al frente del enemigo,¹ para que tengan la gloria de contribuir á la salvación de la República. Estos son los envidiables testimonios de civismo que yo presento á V. E. para estimularlo á que coopere al buen exito de unua empresa, si bien costosa, bastante gloriosa. Aunque V. E. me manifiesta, que se han levantado en ese Estado algunos cuerpos de milicia nacional, yo no se que haya mas, que ciento y pico de infantes en San Miguel del Mexquital, fuerza muy insignificante respecto de su población y recursos. Dios no permita, que el enemigo logre apoderarse de ese Estado, pero si tal cosa sucediere V. E. conoceria entonces toda la concecuencia² de esa conducta que ha observado, y vería igualmente, que era mil veces preferible, que los Zacatecanos tomaran las armas para defender sus derechos, sus familias, y sus hogares á ser víctimas del vandalismo de unos inmorales invasores que atropellan no solamente los respetos humanos sino hasta templos donde se rinde culto y adoración al Dios de nuestros padres. Repito á V. E. que yo no quiero imposibles, y por eso mal podria pretender que se me remitieran recursos que no tiene ese Estado; he deseado únicamente que se haga lo que está en el Círculo de la posibilidad, y cuanto otra cosa no puede ser, al menos, que se cumpla la ley que habla del contingente de hombres, y que se hagan por la autoridad superior los esfuerzos posibles para mantener en todo su vigor el entusiasmo y el amor á la Patria. Antes de concluir esta comunicación permítame V. E. le haga notar la impolítica con que el periódico oficial de esa Ciudad fecha 13 del corriente se han promovido cuestiones semejantes á la que contiene la nota de V. E. que contesto. Debió advertir V. E. antes de mandar insertar una parte de mi oficio en el referido periódico, que se revelaba al enemigo no solo la escases de recursos para hacerle una oposición vigorosa, sino tambien, que se la daba á entender la falta de patriotismo que envuelven semejantes cuestiones, cuando no debia haber otro sentimiento, que el de la unión y confraternidad y buena armonia con que todos debemos procurar la salvación de la República.³

Dios y Libertad.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ *Diciembre 17 de 1846.*

¹ This was effective but not quite true.

² Consecuencia.

³ It can hardly be supposed that Santa Anna was able to compose a letter like this. No doubt he expressed some of the principal ideas (which he was fully capable of doing), but in all probability these were worked up and extended by one of the clever politicians in his train.

December 19, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Rodeado de veinte y tantos mil hombres que me piden diariamente que comer, vestuario para cubrir su desnudez, fusiles para su instrucción, y los artesanos empleados en diferentes obras sus jornales, á la vez que el Comisario me representa á tarde y á mañana, que no tiene recursos con que proveer á tantos indispensables gastos, confieso á V. E. que mi paciencia se agota, y mi espíritu se conmueve; porque se agolpan á mi imaginación las consecuencias, que de tales circunstancias pueden sobrevenir; todo producido á la verdad, del abandono en que el Gobierno tiene á este Ejército; permítaseme que así llame á la falta de no proveerlo con oportunidad de los caudales indispensables para subsistir, de la ropa para vestirlo, y de las armas y municiones para batirse.

El presupuesto de este mes, importa cuatrocientos mil pesos, y no se ha remitido á esta Comisaría mas que la cuarta parte cuando ya estamos á los diez y nueve días del mismo. Dejo á la consideración de V. E. cuantos habran sido mis compromisos en estos días, para cubrir la primera quincena; basta decirle que he tenido que hacer uso de mi crédito particular para adquirir algunas sumas en clase de pronto reintegro, y que limitar á la tropa á su solo rancho. Porsupuesto que los talleres han tenido que paralizarse, y lo mismo digo de las obras de fortificación. El propio resultado han tenido los movimientos de tropa que debian verificarse; en fin, todo es trastorno y atraso.

No es posible que pueda subsistir así un Ejército en campaña con el enemigo. . . .

El conflicto que me rodea por tanto, en este momento me precisa á dirigirme á V. E. á fin de que recabe del E. S. Grál encargado del Supremo Poder Ejecutivo la providencia conveniente para que sin pérdida de momento se situen en esta Comisaría los tres cientos mil pesos que faltan para cubrir el presupuesto del presente mes; y me yalga de un extraordinario violento para que por el mismo conducto se digne V. E. comunicarme su resolución.

Dios y Libertad.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Diciembre 19 de 1846.*

December 19, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. Con fecha 17 del corriente y por extraordinario me dice el Sr. Gral Dn. Isidro Reyes Comandante Gral de Zacatecas lo que sigue:

"E. S. A las 2 de esta tarde he recibido por extraordinario comunicaciones del Sr. Coronel Dn. Nicolas de la Portilla ¹ á que me acom-

¹ Nothing of importance is known of this officer.

pañá la que le dirigio el Jefe Político de Cuencame¹ participándole que las fuerzas Norte Americanas que ocupaban á Parras, se habian movido y ocupado el Alamo de Parras (Villa de Viesca hoy) con una partida de 40 hombres, y el resto de toda su fuerza habia pernotado á una jornada de este ultimo punto. Si han continuado su marcha por Trancas, no hay duda que siguen á Cuencame y que su objeto es el Estado de Durango: si al contrario se han dirigido á Atotonilco de los Martinez, no pueden venir mas que á esta Capital,² y estas son sus miras positivamente segun mi opinión. Yo previne ayer al Sr. Coronel Portilla se presentase en esta Capital, con el fin de alistarlos para que con el Regimiento de su mando marchase cuanto antes á Chihuahua á las ordenes del Sr. Gral Dn. Mariano Martinez segun V. E. me tiene ordenado: mas con presencia de tales ocurrencias, y de lo mas que ministran las comunicaciones oficiales y particulares que en cópias marcadas con los números del 1 al 4 que respetuosamente acompaño á V. E. para su debida imposición, he creido de mi deber ordenar al referido Sr. Coronel Portilla que rectificando las noticias se ponga en marcha con la Sección de su mando si el enemigo se dirige á Durango, y que situandose en el Paso del Calvo,³ inutilice inmediatamente el aguaje único de que pueden proveerse y aprovechando⁴ lo ventajoso de su posición por ser una garganta bastante estrecha procure ostilizarlo⁵ de cuantas maneras le sea dable entretanto yo me pongo á la cabeza de ella con suyo objeto salgo mañana de esta Ciudad; pero que si dicho enemigo ocupando el Real de San Juan⁶ siguiese á Atotonilco de los Martinez como ya entonces no puede dudarse su venida á esta Capital, que en este caso retroceda con su fuerza, rumbo á San Agustin de Melilla, donde me encontrará para organizar alli la defenza del Estado. Este E. S. Gobernador, como único Auxilio que puede prestarme, me ha ofrecido cien Infantes de la Guardia Nacional y una pieza de 8 de las fundidas nuevamente en el Fresnillo;⁷ cuyo auxilio no me espero á llevar personalmente porque en este momento he mandado que se den siete quintales de polvora de Cañon para que se construyan las municiones que deben servir á la referida pieza que me seguirá cuando esté listo. Para la defenza indicada, no cuento mas que con cien Infantes, trescientos caballos del sexto,⁸ doscientos auxiliares y una pieza de á 4 que es de lo que se compone la Sección de San Miguel del Mesquital. Creo inútil mani-

¹ This and the other insignificant places here named lay between Parras and Buena Vista.

² The city of Zacatecas.

³ This place lay between the cities of Parras and Durango.

⁴ Aprovechando.

⁵ Hostilizarlo.

⁶ This and the places named just below lay as the text indicates, but were of little importance otherwise.

⁷ A town of some size.

⁸ Sexto.

festar á V. E. que sin embargo de este corto número de tropas, si los enemigos llegásen á avistarse, estoy seguro de que cuantos me obedecen sabrán cumplir con su deber.”

Apruebo este paso de V. E. asi como las medidas que ha dictado para hacer una buena defensa y las acertadas de aquel Jefe. . . .

Advirtiéndole que no provoque un lanze contra fuerzas superiores, sino que reduzca sus operaciones á inutilizar los caminos, destruir aguajes, pasturas y provisiones¹ de boca para mortificar al enemigo si el no las lleva; y en una palabra hacerle la mayor ostilidad² en guerrillas, si es imposible, ó riesgosa una batalla sin contar previamente con probabilidades de buen suceso.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Dbre 19 de 1846.*

December 22, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Gral en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña. Muy reservado.

E. S. Habiendo sabido por diferentes conductos que el Gral Taylor, el dia 13 del corriente se movio desde Monterrey con dirección á Ciudad Victoria³ Capital del Estado de Tamaulipas con una fuerza de milquinientos hombres, y ocho piezas de artilleria: que en Monterrey ha quedado una Guarnición de igual número y que en el Saltillo no pasa de mil hombres⁴ con seis piezas de artilleria lo que alli existe, á la vez que la División al mando del Gral Wool que se hallaba en Parras sigue su ruta hacia Chihuahua,⁵ he creido conveniente en tales circunstancias hacer un movimiento rápido sobre el Saltillo y Monterrey con nueve mil Infantes escogidos, y cuatro mil caballos y doce piezas de los calibres de á doce y ocho. Entre tanto que yo me dirijo en persona á ejecutar esta operación el Gral Valencia⁶ con mil quinientos caballos debiera entretener en Ciudad Victoria al Gral Taylor á fin de que desocupado los dos puntos que voy á atacar sobre la marcha, pueda seguir sobre aquel y concluir en detalle con las principales fuerzas de los invasores.⁷ No me embaraza otra que la consideración de la escases en que me voy á ver por el Saltillo y Mon-

¹ Provisiones.

² Hostilidad.

³ Taylor's forces left Monterey Dec. 13, 14, and 15.

⁴ Worth had more than 1,000 men, but his force was certainly weak.

⁵ In this Santa Anna, as we have seen, was mistaken.

⁶ Gabriel Valencia.

⁷ Gen. W. J. Worth, commanding at Saltillo, heard that Santa Anna intended to attack him, and notified Wool and Taylor. Wool left Parras almost instantly, and made an extraordinary march to join Worth. Taylor turned back with a part of the troops then on their way to Victoria. Santa Anna, who had begun his advance, gave up the plan on learning of Wool's movement.

terrey, si el Gobierno no me manda los docientos y pico de mil pesos, que faltan para el presupuesto del presente mes; y por lo mismo suplico encarecidamente al E. S. Gral encargado del S. P. E.,¹ que haciendose un esfuerzo extraordinario, verga del mismo modo ese recurso, para que pueda ejecutar ese movimiento dentro de tres ó cuatro dias á mas tardar, pues ya estoy preparandolo todo para emprenderlo.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Dbre 22 de 1846.*

December 22, 1846.

The Governor of Zacatecas, who has attacked me, was Governor in 1835 also, when a revolt occurred there and I had to occupy the place with troops.² He is endeavoring to get revenge. His misrepresentation of my orders caused the legislature of Durango to pass a decree on the 11th which infringes upon my dignity [*me deprime*] unjustly.

SAN LUIS POTOSI.

December 24, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

Exmo. Señor. El Sr. Grāl Don José Antonio Heredia en Jefe de la División de Operaciones de Nuevo México³ con fecha 7 del corriente me dice lo que copio.

"E. S. Considerando mas presisos en este Estado⁴ los servicios del Batallón del 7º Regimiento que se halla en el de Durango, dispuse su marcha á mi tránsito por Cerro-Gordo,⁵ mas para que pudiese emprenderla me ha sido presiso solicitar bajo mi responsabilidad un prestamo de mil quinientos pesos, que desde la Villa de Allende⁶ remiti al Sr. Comandante Grāl⁷ quien á mi paso por Cerro-gordo, me manifestó que aquella Tesoreria no habia ministrado el mes anterior cantidad alguna, por lo que los Cuerpos de su guarnición carecian aun de los mas presisos para el mantenimiento del soldado; resultando por consecuencia, en dicho mes una escandalosa deserción. . . ."

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Diciembre 24 de 1846.*

¹ Santa Anna was elected president this very day, but of course did not know this.

² See note 1 on the letter of Dec. 17, 1846.

³ This name was given to his army in order to suggest that the Americans were to be driven from New Mexico.

⁴ Chihuahua.

⁵ There are two places of this name in the State of Zacatecas. Probably the one near Sombrerete is meant. There is no Cerro Gordo in Durango.

⁶ Near Jiménez, State of Chihuahua.

⁷ Apparently the Comandante General of Durango.

December 24, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Muy Reservado.

E. S. Con fecha 17 del corriente me dice el jefe politico del Partido de Parras, del Estado de Coahuila lo que sigue:

"E. S. Las tropas de los E. Unidos del norte, han ocupado esta Villa desde el dia 5 del corriente. Inmediatamente que se introdujeron di cuenta al Gobierno del Estado como era de mi deber participándole además el número de que componian pues pude a veriguar con evidencia que no obstante que se decia venian de tres ó cuatro mil hombres, solo eran por todos mil ocho cientos veinte y tantos incluso los carreros.¹ Sus clases eran las siguientes cuatro cientos de linea, trescientos y tantos caballos y lo mas se componia de voluntarios de Tejas mal vestidos y reclutos al parecer. Traen tambien trescientos carros algunos vacios, y otros con provisiones de boca y guerra. Ocho piezas de campaña. A esta Fuerza deben reunirse trescientos hombres y ciento y tantos carros que vienen de Monclova y deben estar ahora en Patos. Hoy se han movido repentina y tumultuariamente² comenzando por el campo que estaba situado á muy corta distancia de esta Villa en una llanura que se halla al N. E. terminando en una serrania y empezaron á salir según se dice desde las once de la mañana. A la una de la tarde el mismo Grál llamado Juan Wool hombre de avanzada edad y de buenas maneras entro á la plaza acompañado de su Estado Mayor y escolta con unos pliegos³ en la mano, y la momento parece dió orden de que salieran las tropas que estaban dentro de la población y acostumbraban venir diariamente en bastante número por tres ó cuatro horas al mercado que solia ser muy abundante porque traian bastante dinero en oro y plata, no obstante que ya empezaba á disminuir algo. Luego que expidió su orden el Grál los Ayudantes y Soldados comenzaron á esparramarse por las tiendas dando en inglés la voz de "*Soldados al momento al campo.*" Luego se pusieron todos en grande alboroto corriendo á pié y á caballo sin cesar esta escaramuza que se formaba de oficiales y soldados, hasta las ocho de la noche. Diariamente á mas de una guardia de sesenta hombres que tenian en las casas consistoriales, recorrian los calles, pequeños patrillos de infantería para conservar el orden, por temor de los voluntarios que son en grál de pésimas costumbres. De noche rondaban algunos patrillos de Caballeria á mas de los avanzados que tenian en todos los caminos sin dejar salir á nadie que no llevara pasaporte de esta Jefatura visado por el Grál ó de este solamente. Con especialidad nogaban la salida á los efectos con pena de comiso, y si salian algunos

¹ We do not know just when this count or estimate was made. It may have been correct at the time.

² In consequence of news that Santa Anna was advancing upon Gen. Worth.

³ Presumably a letter from Worth.

era con permiso del Grál para los puntos que quería. Los entrantes eran desarmados y llevados al campo para reconocerlos sin omitir los de la mejor distinción. Pero desde que estalló ésta alarma los patru- llos se aumentaron con otras de Caballeria al mando de oficiales dando mas realce¹ con esto á la grál confusión que se observaba en ellos con bastante gusto delos Mexicanos, pues salian á tomar sus armas y caballos apresuradamente hasta aquellos gentes que parece venían solo agregados á las fuerzas con miro mercantiles ó de conveniencia de esta especie. A esta hora ha cesado el rumor, se dice que quedarán algunas tropas guaraneciendo esta Plaza aunque en corto número provablemente.² La bandera de los E. Unidos que tenian colocada en las consistoriales donde antiguamente flameaba la de nuestra patria, la quitaron como á las cinco de la tarde, queda solo allí la guardia, no se hasta ahora en que numero pues temprano en la noche, se les observaba tráfico á los soldados como aprestandose para marchar. A las seis de la tarde parece que las fuerzas iban ya lejos, pues habian pasado de la Hacienda de San Lorenzo³ con anticipación y dicen llevaban por objeto llegar al Saltillo para mañana precisamente, cosa que dudo, por lo largo del camino y gran tren de la tropa. La gente de esta Villa parece alegre como descargada de un gran peso, pues se veía retraida y con bastante sentimiento pues no habia punto donde no anduvieran los Americanos, y sobre todo la colocación de la bandera ocupación de toda la casa consistorial en donde ya no despachaban las Autoridades locales, y provición⁴ que fuerza hacian de leña para el campo (aunque mediante paga) era cosa molesta para la población no se lo que pueda ocurrir en lo sucesivo, pero ofresco á V. E. quedar en observación para comunicarle cualquiera cosa nueva y lo mas que á V. E. convenga mediante sus ordenes, asi como con mas oportunidad, los males y quejas que se justifique haya habido. Ahora solo me apresuro á dirigirle este parte por lo que queda convenir á las altas disposiciones de V. E. . . .”

No me queda duda alguna de que la División enemiga al mando del Grál Wool ha contramarchado de Parras para el Saltillo, y aunque este acontecimiento liberta á Zacátecás, y á Durango de las hostilidades de esa fuerza, me impide poner en práctica la operación que tenia proyectada, y que comuniqué á V. E. en mi nota reservada del 22, poniéndome en el caso de convinar.⁵ movimientos distintos, porque reforzado el Saltillo con 2,700 hombres, y 8 piezas de artillería, se ofrecen dificultades para un ataque violento que no se pulsaban cuando la fuerza que en aquel punto existia, no exedia⁶ de mil hombres.

¹ Realce.

² Probablemente.

³ A point on the road to Saltillo and Buena Vista.

⁴ Provisión.

⁵ Combinar.

⁶ Excedía.

Frustrado por tales motivos mi proyecto de batir en detall al Saltillo, Monterrey y aun al mismo Taylor que se dirige á Ciudad Victoria, de donde á esta hora debe hallarse muy cerca, procederé con arreglo á los avisos que mis espías me comuniquen, habiendo sin embargo hecho avanzar á Matehuala una Brigada de infantería que salió ayer de este Cuartel Grál. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Diciembre 24, 1846.*

December 24, 1846.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ. News that the enemy are approaching Durango has been received.¹

December 30, 1846.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña. E. S. Mañana es último día del mes, y á estas tropas no se les ha podido completar sus haberes, porque solo se ma ha remitido de esa Capital ciento setenta y cinco mil pesos, importando el presupuesto economico cuatrocientos mil. . . .

CUARTEL GRAL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ *Diciembre 30, 1846.*

January 1, 1847.

Sinnott² came but could not work gratuitously, and as we have enough interpreters, he was not employed.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 4, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Con fecha 19 del ppo Diciembre me dice el Sr. Grál Don José Antonio Heredia en Jefe de la Division de operaciones sobre nuevo Mexico y bajo el no. 15 me dice lo que copio. . . .

A mi tránsito³ por la capital de Durango tuve una conferencia con el E. S. Gobernador relativa á mi comisión en ambos Estados y S. E. me manifestó que apesar de las angustias que en aquel territorio habian causado los Bárbaros; cuyas repetidas invasiones en gran número tenian que repeler, pondrian á mi disposición cuatrocientos ó quinientos hombres de su guardia nacional, cuando en alguno de los dos

¹ This report was unfounded.

² Sinnott had offered to assist in seducing the Irish Roman Catholics of Gen. Taylor's army, and the Mexican government had sent him north for that purpose.

³ Tránsito.

Estados tuviese que batir á las fuerzas norte-Americanas; siendo este el único auxilio que podria prestarme. En seguida marché á Cerro gordo donde se hallaba el Sr. Comandante Grál con todas sus fuerzas y S. S.¹ me manifestó que la guarnición de aquel Estado la componian el Battallon del 7º Regimiento constante de 140 plazas, el 1º Escuadron activo de ciento treinta y cuatro, con su caballada casi inútil, asi como sus monturas en la mayor parte sin el completo de estas, asi como de Carabinas y lanzas, para toda su fuerza desnuda en su totalidad, el 2º Escuadron Activo que se compone de noventa plazas y un piquete de 20 hombres del 1º Regimiento de Caballeria y que de todo S. S. habia dado parte con repetición al supremo Gobierno; así como tambien de las escases que padecia aquella guarnición, hasta el extremo de no haber tenido ni rancho la tropa en algunos dias del mes anterior; que en todo el Estado habia trece companias auxiliares² de que no podia hechar mano, apesar de la escases de tropa para perseguir á los Barbaros, que como nunca lo tenian invadido por todas direcciones, por no tener con qué socorrerlas siquiera. En este³ estado existen las fuerzas siguientes: el Batallon Activo con cuatrocientas plazas, un piquete del 2º Regimiento de Caballeria con cincuenta y tres, cinco Companias presidiales permanentes con cuatrocientos sesenta y cinco y dos id activas con doscientos nueve que hacen la fuerza total de un mil ciento treinta y cinco hombres, de los que estan en el Paso del Norte á las ordenes del Tente Cõrl Don Gavino Cuiliti⁴ ciento ochenta de Infanteria y trescientos veinte de Caballeria, cuatrocientos hombres de ambas fuerzas en Santa Rosalia á las ordenes del Sr. Comandante Grál Don Mauricio Ugarte⁵ y el resto en esta capital.⁶ Toda la fuerza expresada está desnuda en su mayoria, y la caballeria casi á pié, pues la Caballada se ha inutilizado en la constante persecución de los barbaros.⁷ Se han inutilizado en la posición del E. S. Gobernador⁸ cuatro piezas de artilleria de á cuatro y el parque necesario para estas y para fusil; dichas piezas estan servidas con tropa de Infanteria por carecer de artilleros, y como ademas de las expresadas se estan construyendo otras seis, hace notable falta un Capitan y dos subalternos del arma que den la instruccion correspondiente.

¹ Su Señoría.

² Militia of an inferior grade.

³ Chihuahua.

⁴ Nothing of moment is known of him except that on the plea of brain fever he took flight from El Paso del Norte when the Americans under Doniphan approached that place.

⁵ Ugarte, Comandante General of Chihuahua during the autumn of 1846, made some futile movements toward the Americans then in New Mexico, but achieved only promises and threats.

⁶ Chihuahua City.

⁷ The Indians, particularly the Comanches and the Apaches, had been committing great ravages in the State.

⁸ Angel Trias.

Aunque en todo este Estado podrian alistarse mas de cuatro mil hombres de la guardia nacional, solo se cuentan en la Capital ciento cincuenta fusiles para la Infanteria y cien carabinas para la caballeria; único numero de fuerzas de que podrá disponerse en un caso urgente; la que apesar de la escases de tropa no puede mantenerse sobre las armas, por falta de recursos; pues siendo los mas, artesanos y jornaleros, se hace preciso socorrerlos á lo menos, cuando esten en activo servicio porque de lo contrario no podrian subsistir pero si estan todos obligados y asisten con puntualidad á tres ejercicios semanarios. Solo se cuenta para todas las atenciones militares de este Estado segun informe del Sr. Comisario con 14 mil quinientos pesos á la vez que los vencimientos de las tropas y otros gastos indispensables ascienden á mas de veinticinco [mil] pesos; de manera que no puede atenderse á todo con la debida oportunidad. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Enero 4 de 1847.*

January 4, 1847.

The Sixth Regiment, now at the capital, is to come here.
SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 4, 1847.

Enclosed is a letter (with documents) from Eduardo Gonzales¹, Vice Governor of Coahuila, dated Dec. 29. [The letter says: *á la vez de ocuparme constantemente en reclamar á los respectivos gefes la multitud de ultrajes² que por diferentes motivos han recaido sobre mis compatriotas no he descuidado en participar á V. E. lo mas notable de estos así como los movimientos que ha hecho el Ejército invasor.³* One man received a ball.]

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 6, 1847.

Letters have been taken from a United States messenger. The most important one (duplicate) is from Major General R. Patterson to the Assistant Adjutant General at Monterey. [It is as follows: Matamoros, December 12. Rough weather "for many days past" has entirely cut off communication between Brazos Island⁴ and the Rio Grande by water, prevented the passage of Boca Chica⁵ by wagons, and prevented steamers from coming up the river

¹ González. He wrote from Saltillo.

² Undoubtedly the American Volunteers did commit many outrages in spite of all that Gen. Worth could do. Worth himself so stated. The main trouble was that Gen. Taylor would not use the needful severity. Scott did much better.

³ It will be noted that González, permitted by the Americans to stay at Saltillo and exercise his functions, repaid them by acting as a spy. When one of his letters was intercepted, Worth read him a rather severe lecture.

⁴ Off Point Isabel, Texas.

⁵ A shallow strait between "Brazos Island" and the mainland. Later it was bridged.

as far as Matamoros. I cannot count on enough wagons to march before the 20th.¹ I hope then to send three regiments on successive days. In many places there is not enough water (it is said) for all to go together.* There will be about 1,700 men: Tennessee horse, 650; Third Illinois foot, 550; Fourth Illinois foot, 450; Sappers and Miners, 60. Pillow² has returned in better health and will go with me. I hope to be at Victoria in 13-15 days.³ The men and the horses are in good condition, and can probably average 16 miles a day.]

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 7, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano.

E. S. No habiendo tenido ni contestación á mis comunicaciones de 30 del ppdo y 1º, 2 y 4 del corriente en que he manifestado bien claramente, que este Ejército se encuentra en el mayor abandono, y que no existe ni un peso para sus socorros, me veo en el indispensable caso de anunciar á V. E., que si á la vuelta de este extraordinario no se mandan las cantidades necesarias á esta Comisaría, publicaré inmediatamente un manifiesto á la nación, que la instruya de cuanto debe saber en el particular.

Hoy estamos á siete del mes, y los cuerpos no reciben ni un peso por cuenta del presupuesto de él, cuando ademas no se ha cubierto mas de la mitad del pasado; de manera, que de prestado y con mil afanes se buscan cada día los ranchos para que el soldado no perezca de hambre ó se deserte huyendo de ella. . . .

Para que tal situación no ceda en mi descrédito, procederé al paso indicado, como único medio legal que me queda. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Enero 7 de 1847.*

January 12, 1847.

Ten bronze cannon, etc., were saved from Tampico.⁴

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 13, 1847.

By the law of January 11 "the national representation has proved [*acreditado*] its patriotism."⁵

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

¹ This refers to Patterson's march from Matamoros to Victoria, where he joined Gen. Taylor, who had moved from Monterey.

² Brig. Gen. Gideon J. Pillow.

³ He reached Victoria Jan. 4, 1847, the same day as Taylor.

⁴ When Parrodi evacuated the city.

⁵ Santa Anna refers to the law which gave the government power to use fifteen millions of Church property.

January 13, 1847.

In reply to the government's circular about repressing every attempt to make a disturbance in consequence of the law regarding ecclesiastical property, I would say that no such danger exists in this army. If anything is attempted here, I will take the necessary steps to prevent its effects.¹

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 14, 1847.

The enemy have embarked about three hundred men and several cannon at Tampico to join their squadron off Vera Cruz, probably intending to attack Vera Cruz or Alvarado.² Send an express to the Comandante General of Vera Cruz instructing him to be on the lookout.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 19, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña. Urgente.

E. S. . . . Acerca del estado de miseria en que se halla este Ejército por el abandono en que se le tiene. Hice presente á V. E., que ya no era posible sobrellevar esta situación, y que de ella necesariamente deberian seguirse males de gran trascendencia; así ha sucedido, y los primeros efectos que se estan notando, son los de la deserción que se verifica diariamente á bandadas, no siendo extraño, que el Ejército en muy pocos dias se disuelva de este modo, si no es que antes, la idea que se ha generalizado, y debe proceder de los enemigos del orden, de que el Supremo Gobierno con estudio lo tiene en este abandono, ó la desesperación que causa el hambre y la miseria, produzcan otros males de mas gerarquía³ y de incalculables consecuencias.⁴ . . .

A las angustias expresadas, faltaban las que naturalmente producen las especies vertidas en algunos periódicos de esa Capital, sin duda con perverso designio. En cartas anonimas, y aun en articulos de fondo se dice, que este Ejército *se mantiene en inaccion propor-*

¹ Finding the law extremely unpopular, Santa Anna soon changed his tone. It was suspected that, besides wishing to obtain funds, he had wished this blow at the Church to be struck, so that the prelates would have to make terms with him for protection. The acting executive (Santa Anna could not legally act as President while in command of an army), Valentín Gómez Farías, the vice president, was an honest radical with whom they could make no bargain.

² A small town lying about sixty miles by the road southeast of Vera Cruz, near the mouth of Alvarado River. The harbor at that place was of value for small vessels; the remains of the Mexican navy were there; and the upper country on the banks of the stream was rich in horses, mules and cattle. Two attacks upon Alvarado had already been made. Another seemed, therefore, probable, and in fact it occurred at the beginning of Apr., 1847.

³ Jeraquía.

⁴ Santa Anna doubtless had reference to a revolt.

*cionando asi ventajas al enemigo, porque hay un convenio para que este no sea atacado.*¹ Los que asi afrentan á la Patria, y á sus mejores servidores, contribuyen tambien á hacer mas penosa su situación. Pero no es tan estraña la conducta de esos malos Mexicanos, como lo es, que el organo oficial² no hable nada sabiendo como sabe el Ministerio, el motivo porque aquel no se mueve. . . .

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSI, *Enero 19 de 1847.*

January 22, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. He recibido la nota de V. E. fecha 18 del actual, en que de orden del E. S. Vice-Presidente³ me manifesta haberse librado por ese Supremo Gobierno las ordenes competentes al Sr. Comisario grál de este Estado⁴ para que se ponga en practica la ejecucion del Decreto de 11 del corriente expedido por el soberano Congreso nacional sobre ocupación de bienes de manos muertas.⁵

Permítame V. E. que le diga desluego, que semejante paso ni debe considerarse como auxilio para el ejército, por que su inoportunidad lo hace inútil. La ejecución del Decreto citado debe empezarse en esa capital, donde la presencia de la autoridad suprema, y su prestigio harán que no se entorpezca la marcha del asunto; y estoy en la firme creencia de que en ninguno de los otros estados surtirá su efecto, si la capital no da el ejemplo. Agrégase á esto, que las legislaturas de Mexico, Puebla y Querétaro han presentado iniciativas para la derogación del expresado decreto, y que esto debe haber infundido desconfianza, y presentado por consiguiente nuevas dificultades para su realización. Pero entre tanto este Ejército se halla en la mas com-

¹ The public had become informed to some extent of the negotiations that had taken place in July, 1846, between Santa Anna and the American government with reference to his regaining power in Mexico and making peace. He was therefore accused by many of acting in collusion with the United States, and such incidents as the evacuation of Tampico were thought to confirm their belief.

² The *Diario*. The precise reasons for its silence on this point cannot positively be stated; but for one thing it is clear that to admit that the army had not been supplied with funds would have given great assistance to the many implacable enemies of the government.

³ Valentin Gómez Farfás, now acting as president.

⁴ The State of San Luis Potosí.

⁵ A vast amount of real estate mortgaged to the Church. As neither debtor nor creditor expected the loan to be paid up, this property virtually belonged to the Church. There was practically no land tax in Mexico, and hence, as the property used for religious purposes was exempt, the Roman Catholic Church, which was believed to hold the greater part of the wealth of the country, bore a very small share of the costs of the war, although—since absorption in the United States would have extinguished its exclusive privileges—the war was carried on in a special sense for its benefit. The prelates showed little inclination to contribute liberally, and hence it seemed necessary to lay hands upon some of the Church's wealth. But the law of Jan. 11 proved substantially a dead letter, and before long, after making an arrangement with the clergy, Santa Anna had it repealed.

pleta indigencia, y abandonado á ella por el Gobierno. Y hace un mes que este se instaló, y no ha enviado hasta ahora ni un real para las tropas. . . .¹

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Enero 22 de 1847.*

January 22, 1847.

Reservada. Beach,² editor of the New York *Sun*, has gone from Havana to Vera Cruz as an agent of the United States to bring about peace.³ So I hear by private letters from Havana that came by the last packet. He has no official commission,⁴ but full powers,⁵ and will not spare money. "His mission so prejudicial to the interests and the honor of the Nation."

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ.

January 23, 1847.

TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe.

E. S. Apesar du su⁶ estremada subordinación no seria extraño unu desorden promivido por la falta de alimentos, desorden que desvandaria⁷ estas tropas, y con ellas se perderia hasta la última esperanza de salvación.

Asi es que entre perderla y con ella nuestro honor, ser político, sagrada religión y libertad individual, ó tomar dinero de donde lo haya, creo que V. cuya prudencia es notoria, la Nación y el Universo, desidiran⁸ lo que deba preferirse.⁹

CUARTEL GRÁL DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Enero 23 de 1847.*

AL SR. DIRECTOR DE LA CASA DE MONEDA DE ESTA CIUDAD.¹⁰

January 26, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grāl en Jefe. Urgente.

E. S. Con asombro noto que el ministro de Hacienda ha resuelto dejar en el abandono y en la desesperación á este Ejército de quien depende hoy la suerte de la Patria. Desde que se instalo la actual

¹ Farías was sincerely patriotic and anxious to support the war; but he was beset with the most serious difficulties, and probably, too, desiring to reduce the wealth of the Church as one way to curb its power, he was not sorry to have the necessities of the army and the demands of Santa Anna as arguments for the passage of such a law as that of Jan. 11, and therefore did not make all the efforts he might otherwise have made to raise money by the usual methods.

² Moses Y. Beach.

³ This information was correct. Beach conferred with high Roman Catholic dignitaries in Cuba, and presumably the facts were derived from them.

⁴ He had a commission as a special agent but not as a diplomatic representative. The mission was most secret.

⁵ This statement is entirely too strong.

⁶ This word refers to Santa Anna's army.

⁷ Desbandaría.

⁸ Decidirán.

⁹ Subject to variations in form, this was the standard Mexican formula used in justification of what amounted to a seizure of property by military force.

¹⁰ The letter in the Guerra y Marina archives is a copy.

administración, no ha remitido un solo peso á esta comisaria, y tal conducta en las actuales circunstancias, es criminal; protesto pues contra ella ante la nación, por las consecuencias que pueda producir. Se me ha puesto en el caso de mandar ocupar noventa y ocho barras de plata que se acuñaban en la casa de moneda de esta ciudad, como verá V. E. por la copia adjunta, teniendo que garantizar á los dueños con la cesión que hago de todos mis bienes para que de ellos sean satisfechos, por si el gobierno no lo hiciere. He contraído otras mas deudas sobre mis dichos bienes, y seguramente de esta vez quedaré arruinado para siempre, pues he comprometido toda mi fortuna¹ y hasta la de mis hijos, antes que poder ser indiferente á la suerte de estos beneméritos soldados. . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ *Enero 26 de 1847.*

January 29, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano.

E. S. . . . La conducta observada por el Gobierno no tiene ejemplo en la historia.² . . .

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, *Enero 29 de 1847.*

¹ This is not to be taken literally, of course. Besides, his great wealth had been obtained by robbing the people of Mexico, and in the event of failing in his present undertaking he was almost sure to lose at least a large part of it.

² This has reference to its failure to supply Santa Anna with funds. It seems worth while to present the defence of the government against Santa Anna's principal accusations: the failure to send him money and the neglect of Vera Cruz:

E. S. . . . El Gobierno no desconoce la posición de V. E., pero tambien no debe serle estraña la que el mismo Gobierno guarda hoy, porque falto hasta ahora de caudales bastantes para sus grandes y multiplicadas atenciones. El remedio del Erario lo funda en el cumplimiento de la Ley de 10 del actual [date of one stage in the passage of the law regarding Church property]; pero por desgracia ésta ha tenido trabas que al ejecutivo no le ha sido posible superar hasta hoy, porque los interesados en el manco de los bienes eclesiásticos, han puesto en acción todo el poder de la intriga, usando hasta del respetable nombre de V. E. y su descaro ha llegado hasta el extremo que aseguran que si bien creyo V. E. esta medida como salvadora de la Nación ahora la considera como ineficaz [ineficax] y viciosa. . . .

Afortunadamente la citada Ley ha sido publicada en la mayor parte de los Estados, sin que halla habido mas que ligeras conmociones en esta Capital, y en las de Querétaro y Puebla sin una oposición tenaz, por parte de los reverendos Obispos y Cabildos eclesiásticos, mas que por la del Reverendo Obispo de Michoacan, que ha protestado contra la medida de una manera sumamente fuerte y amenazante [amenazante] al Congreso. . . .

Ahora sobre los enemigos exteriores, podrá acaso V. E. contener los movimientos que intentan hacer sobre las costas de Veracruz, para despues pretender apoderarse de aquella plaza.

El ejecutivo en desempeño de sus obligaciones y para estorbar que llegue tan infortunado caso, ha dispuesto, como se le tiene ya dicho á V. E. formar una División de seis mil hombres que á las ordenes del bizarro Grál Don Romulo Diaz de la Vega, marchará en los primeros días del proximo mes de Febrero. . . .

Ademas de esta División, el E. S. Vice Presidente interno [Santa Anna and Farías were interim officials because not elected at the regular time] se ocupa de formar otra de reserva, para atender á los puntos que quedan ser atacados por las tropas Norte Americanas. . . . [Circumstances—particularly a revolt at Mexico—prevented the government from carrying these plans into effect.]

Enero 30 de 1847. Al E. S. Presidente into de la Republica, Benemerito de la Patria y Grál en Jefe del Ejército de Operaciones Don Antonio López de Santa Anna.

February 2, 1847.

E. S. En estos momentos que son las diez de la mañana, parto de esta ciudad¹ con el objeto de alcanzar al ejército de mi mando, cuya retaguardia salió de aquí el 31 del pasado, y aunque como he dicho á V. E. anteriormente, va desprovisto de toda clase de recursos, le sobra entusiasmo y decisión² por sacrificarse an las aras de la Patria.

SAN LUIS POTOSÍ, 2 de Febrero de 1847.

February 9, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano.

E. S. En el *Diario del Gobierno* del 29 del ppdo, he visto una exposición que con fecha del dia anterior habia pasado ese ministerio al Soberano congreso nacional, manifestando la necesidad de recursos en que se encuentra este Ejército, y ofreciendo presentar las iniciativas convenientes para remediarla.

En un documento de tanta importancia, y en el que por su naturaleza debiera cuidarse de no incurrir en equivocación, debe haberme sido sorprendente la aserción de que *se han mandado recientemente treinta y cinco mil pesos á la comisaria de San Luis*, cuando á nadie mejor que al Supremo Gobierno consta que no se ha hecho tal remesa,³ y que para la manutención de las tropas y preparativos del movimiento que se ha efectuado, he tenido que hacer desembolsos, comprometer mi crédito y arbitrar otros medios como me ha sido posible, sin recibir ni un solo peso de la Tesoreria Grál de la nacion. En tal virtud, ruego á V. E. se sirva rectificar ese acerto⁴ por medio del mismo *Diario*, pues de no hacerse, pudiera darse á entender que mis continuos reclamos han sido exajerados⁵ é injustos, sufriendo por tanto mi reputación. . . .

Tambien ha llamado mi atención que se diga en el mismo documento, que este Ejército tendrá suficientes recursos poniendo en ejecución el decreto sobre bienes de manos muertas en los Estados de San Luis, Guanajuato y Zacatecas, puesto que tales recursos son ilusorios por las razones que ya he manifestado al Supremo Gobierno por conducto de ese mismo Ministerio.

Por tanto, espero tambien que estas dificultades se hagan públicas, á fin de que no se crea que este Ejército ha podido hallarse en un estado próspero mientras he tenido que sacrificarme para sostenerlo

¹ On his march to the battlefield of Buena Vista.

² Decisión.

³ At this time the government was standing at bay and fighting for its life.

⁴ Aserto, i. e., aserción.

⁵ Exajerados.

y hacerlo operar, pues el Gobierno sabe que en el mes de Diciembre solo mandó á la Comisaría ciento setenta y cinco mil pesos, y que si se ha cubierto medio presupuesto del mes de Enero. se debe á los auxilios que yo he procurado de la manera que dejo indicada. . . .

MATEHUALA, *Febrero 9 de 1847.*

February 11, 1847.

E. S. Hoy continúo mi marcha para el Saltillo, y lo mismo hace el Ejército de mi mando, que en divisiones avanza segun lo permite la cruda estación, y la miseria que se experimenta naturalmente por desiertos, cuando no hay ni dinero, ni raciones: la baja por enfermos es considerable por aquellos motivos.

El enemigo en número de seis á siete mil hombres¹ con veinte piezas² de Artilleria, se ha situado en Agua Nueva,³ tal vez con el designio de esperarnos alli, ó de avanzar á encontrarnos. El Gral Taylor manda en persona esta fuerza.

Dentro de diez ó doce dias⁴ se dará una batalla. . . .

MATEHUALA, *Febrero 11 de 1847.*

February 17, 1847.

E. S. Por los adjuntos documentos se impondrá V. E. que el Grál Taylor ha reconcentrado sus fuerzas en la Hacienda de Agua Nueva distante de este punto veinte leguas⁵ cuyas noticias ratifican mis espías hasta esta hora, y no cabe duda en que se prepara aquel Grál á una batalla, y que presentará en ella de siete á ocho mil hombres con mas de veinte piezas de Artilleria.

Por mi parte he tomado todas las medidas convenientes para batirlo en su campo el dia 21^o del corriente, y tal vez cuando llegue esta nota á manos de V. E., habrá tenido lugar un gran hecho de armas, cuyo resultado será para la patria de incalculables consecuencias. . . .

Las tropas de mi mando marchan con entusiasmo y con deseo de revindicar el honor de nuestras armas: ni las privaciones, ni las fatigas de una marcha penosa, y ni los elementos que parecen conjurados contra nosotros,⁶ pues algunos dias hemos tenido que caminar sobre la nieve, entivian,⁷ su ardimiento.

¹ In fact about 4,750.

² Taylor had fifteen cannon on the field at Buena Vista.

³ About twelve miles south of Buena Vista, which was about six miles from Saltillo in the same direction.

⁴ In fact eleven days, which shows that in this case Santa Anna calculated surprisingly well.

⁵ About fifty-two miles.

⁶ The weather was in fact terribly trying—now cold, now hot, now stormy.

⁷ Entiblan. The boast was well grounded.

Los que suponian, que por este rumbo nada tenia que hacer el ejército de mi mando, varán muy pronto, que para dar opinion sobre materia que no se entiende es necesaria alguna circunspección.

Dios y Libertad.

SAN SALVADOR,¹ *Febrero 17 de 1847 á las 10 de la mañana.*

February 23, 1847.

Ejército Libertador Republicano. Grál en Jefe. Sria. de Campaña.

E. S. En un momento de lugar, y ahora que son las siete de la noche, participo á V. E. para que se sirva hacerlo al E. S. Vice-Presidente de la Republica que el Ejército de mi mando, despues de una penosa marcha por el largo desierto que media desde el Cedral hasta akui,² ha tenido que sostener una batalla de dos dias contra el Ejército de los Estados Unidos del Norte, al mando del Grál Z. Taylor, compuesta de ocho á nueve mil hombres, con 26 piezas de Artilleria.³ Ambos Ejércitos han peleado con encarnizamiento y desesperación.⁴ Hoy comenzo la acción á las seis de la mañana, y ha concluido al ponerse el sol.⁵ El campo esta sembrado de cadaveres y la sangre ha corrido á torrentes. Iban quedado en nuestro poder dos banderas que tengo el honor de remitir á V. E. con el portador, tres piezas de Artilleria, dos del calibre de á seis y una de á cuatro, con sus dotaciones de municiones, y cuatro carros; aquellas con sus tiros de caballos, y aunque no se ha decidido la batalla, puedo asegurar á V. E., que cuantas veces se ha disputado el terreno, ha quedado por las tropas de la República,⁶ como lo acreditan los trofeos indicados; mas de dos mil cadaveres de los enemigos,⁷ endidos en el campo de batalla y varios prisioneros, cuyo número no se hasta esta hora.

Por mi parte tengo el sentimiento de manifestar á V. E. que entre Grales, Jefes, Oficiales y Tropa, habremos perdido entre muertos

¹ The situation of this place, now a station on the railroad, is indicated by Santa Anna in the first sentence of this letter.

² In fact nearly all of the march beyond Matchuala, more than 100 miles, lay through a desert region.

³ Santa Anna now felt it necessary to exaggerate still the numbers opposed to him. However, that is a common practice with commanders and soldiers. And it is possible after all that he believed the statement, for the American guns were moved from point to point during the battle with such remarkable celerity that they well might have seemed more numerous than they were.

⁴ This statement was true.

⁵ Owing to the high mountains that walled in the valley of Buena Vista sunset came early. The battle ended at about five o'clock.

⁶ This was not correct, but the Mexicans did repeatedly force portions of Taylor's army to fall back. In fact only one of his regiments kept its face to the enemy all day, Feb. 23.

⁷ A gross and no doubt intentional misstatement. As the Mexicans were finally driven from the field they were unable to count or intelligently estimate the number of Americans killed. In killed, wounded and missing Taylor lost about 666.

y heridos, segun se calcula, cosa de mil hombres,¹ lo que hara conocer á V. E. lo reñido del combate, en dos dias continuados. En una de las primeras cargas de este dia, fué herido y muerto mi caballo de un metrallazo.²

La fuerte posición del enemigo lo ha libertado de una completa derrota³ pues muy pocas horas antes de mi llegada á este punto, se retiró del campo de Aguanueva, donde se hallaba, por noticias que tuvo de mis movimientos,⁴ y se situo en este lugar, que forma un puerto y puede compararse al célebre paso de las Termópilas; pero el enemigo debe haber conocido en estos dos dias, que ni la aspereza de las montañas, ni lo fuerte de las posiciones, ni sus ventajas, sean las que fueren, detienen al soldado Mexicano cuando pelea en defenza de los derechos de su patria; estos soldados son dignos de toda consideración, y yo puedo gloriarme de decir que estoy á la cabeza de un Ejército de héroes, que no solamente sabe combatir con brabura,⁵ sino sufrir el hambre y la sed por cuarenta horas continuadas, como lo he visto, porque asi lo ha exigido el servicio de la Nacion. Lo unico que affige en estos momentos mi situación, es no tener ni una galleta, ni un poco de arroz siquiera,⁶ para alimentar á tanto herido, pues con solo carne hemos pasado estos dias; y ya se verá la razon que he tenido en quejarme, por el abandono en que se ha tenido á este Ejército dos meses y en decir, que no es posible hacer la campaña con buen exito sin proveer al Ejército, con cuanto la Guerra exige. Pienso, por tanto, trasladar mañana temprano mi campo á Aguanueva, tres leguas distante, para proveerme de alguna menestra⁷ que debe haber llegado á la Hacienda de la Encarnación;⁸ y si logro hacerme de lo necesario y me alijero de los heridos, que tanto entorpecen los movimientos, volveré á cargar, no obstante haberseme abierto mi herida⁹ por la fatiga que me ha producido andar á caballo doce horas en cada dia. . . .

CAMPO EN LA ANGOSTURA SOBRE BUENAVISTA, *Febrero 23 de 1847.*

¹ The figures should probably have been about 1,800.

² This appears to have been a fact.

³ This opinion was correct, but it reflects credit upon Gen. Wood, who selected the field of battle.

⁴ He could have said "retired precipitately."

⁵ Bravura.

⁶ This was substantially true.

⁷ Merely a pretext. The supplies could have been sent forward to the army. Probably the real reason for retreating was that his army was on the point of breaking up.

⁸ About 55 miles from Saltillo on the road to San Luis Potosí.

⁹ In consequence of a wound received in fighting a party of French troops at Vera Cruz in 1838 one of Santa Anna's legs had to be amputated near the knee. The stump may easily have been made sore by his riding about on the rough ground during the battle.

March 21, 1847.

TO GENERAL VALENTÍN CANALIZO.¹

"Having arrived in this city to assume the reins of government" . . . [I direct] you [to] send your corps² by arrangement with the chief of the insurgents to their quarters and take back the arms given to the people."³

GUADALUPE DE HIDALGO.⁴

April 4, 1847.

"The shameful surrender" of Vera Cruz.⁵
MEXICO.

April 6, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. General en Jefe.

E. S. El día de ayer llegue á esta Hacienda despues de haber forzado la marcha cuanto me fué posible: mañana trasladaré á Corral Falso⁷ y Cerro Gordo⁸ con el objeto de reconocer aquellas posiciones⁹ y dictar todas las medidas conducentes para que se activen todas las obras de fortificación que allí se practican. En Corral falso situaré por ahora el cuartel Grál. Tengo el sentimiento de manifestar á V. E. que el pavor que se apoderó de los soldados que compusieron la guarnición de Veracruz ha dado lugar á relaciones exageradas acerca del bombardeo que sufrió aquella plaza, y estragos causados por los proyectiles del enemigo siendo esta la razón del decaimiento del Espíritu de los habitantes del Estado y muy particularmente de la Guardia Nacional que con pocas excepciones¹⁰ ha abandonado sus puestos fugandose vergonzosamente. De luego á luego he dictado una circular, para que todo desertor que sea aprehendido de los cuerpos permanentes, Activos o de la Guardia Nacional que

¹ A native of Monterey, Mexico, and one of Santa Anna's most faithful, if not most intelligent, followers.

² Owing to the insurrection (in large measure caused by the attack upon Church property) which broke out at Mexico near the end of February, 1847, chaos reigned at the capital. Congress ceased to assemble, but a large number of the members requested Santa Anna to take possession of the Presidency, to which he had been elected in December, as the only way to restore order. He therefore hastened to the capital.

³ Canalizo commanded the military forces of the government.

⁴ Farías was the chief leader of the democratic party, and in this crisis had the support of the populace at Mexico. He therefore put arms into their hands.

⁵ A suburb of Mexico.

⁶ Vera Cruz surrendered to Gen. Winfield Scott on Mar. 27 and was occupied by the Americans two days later. From a military point of view it did not have to yield so soon. Many of the people remaining in the town, and through them a considerable number of the soldiers and officers, had become demoralized by the American bombardment; this added to the failure of the central government (which was paralyzed by the insurrection at Mexico) to send aid hastened the surrender.

⁷ A pass on the National Highway, about thirteen miles below Jalapa.

⁸ A hamlet about five miles below Corral Falso.

⁹ Posiciones.

¹⁰ Excepciones.

pertinecian al Ejército de Oriente,¹ sea pasado por las armas irremisiblemente con arreglo á ordenanza. He dictado otras medidas ya para que se reúnan en el cuartel Gral las milicias del Estado, como para que se envíen peones é instrumentos de zapa para los trabajos de fortificación. . . .

Teniendo hoy el sentimiento de manifestarle que ecsaustas² del todo los arcas del estado³ y las de la comisaria de Jalapa; careso en lo absoluto de medios para ocurrir al mantenimiento de estas tropas, y a todos los gastos que demanda la defensa del pais. La Brigada que vino de Puebla al mando del Sr. Gral Pinzón,⁴ carece de socorro desde ayer pues solo sacó para ocho dias. . . .

Yo he dado de mi bolsillo quinientos sesenta pesos para comprar brines y ojas de lata con objeto de que se construyan cartuchos y botes de metralla en la fortaleza de Perote con parte de la polvora que conduce la Brigada del Sr. Gral Rangel⁵. . . .

La falta de una fuerza competente en el puente Nacional⁶ para defenderlo con buen exito obligó al E. S. Gral D. Valentin Canalizo a disponer su evacuacion repligando las cortas fuerzas que alli habia a la cañada de Cerro gordo. He aprobado esa disposicion ordenando se traslade la Artilleria alli existente a dicho punto de Cerro gordo donde voy a establecer la primera linea, ya por ser un lugar a proposito para hacer una buena defensa, como por la dificultad de ser flanqueado, circunstancia de que carece al puente Nacional. El Sr. Canalizo habia determinado que se inutilizase⁷ la Artilleria pero yo he dispuesto que se salva a toda costa.

No puede V. E. tener idea del decaimiento del Espiritu publico y del desorden y desconcierto en que he encontrado todos los ramos merced a la profunda sensacion que han causado los ultimos sucesos de Veracruz. Mi presencia en el estado ha alentado los Animos y no escuso medio de los que estan a mi alcance para que renasca el entusiasmo y cooperen todos los Ciudadanos a la defensa del territorio nacional estando dispuesto a hacer ejemplares severos contra los apáticos o flojos en el cumplimiento de sus deberes.

Hoy se me ha dado aviso de que una Division enemiga⁸ avanza sobre el Puente Nacional. y si pasare de este limite esté seguro el

¹ An extemporized army, commanded by Gen. Canalizo, that occupied several positions on the National Highway above and below Jalapa.

² Exhaustas

³ The State of Vera Cruz, the capital of which was Jalapa.

⁴ Luis Pinzón, a mulatto born at Acapulco, Mexico, was considered a good officer. He commanded a position at the battle of Cerro Gordo.

⁵ Nothing can be said regarding the antecedents of Gen. Joaquín Rangel. He was leading a brigade from Mexico. It left that city on Mar. 28.

⁶ A long, high bridge of cut stone, one of the finest monuments of the Spanish period, which enabled the National Highway to cross the Antigua River, here a swift mountain stream.

⁷ Inutilizase.

⁸ That of Gen. David E. Twiggs.

Supremo Gobierno de que se le opondra una resistencia obstinada. . . .

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRÁL EN EL ENCERO *a 6 de Abril de 1847.*

April 7, 1847.

News was received from Vera Cruz yesterday. I have no doubt the enemy is providing two Divisions to advance to the capital "which is today their principal object." One is to march via Córdoba and Orizaba;¹ the other will come this way, and has already set out. Let the government provide for the defence of the capital. I can attend only to this road. If the brigades arrive in time from San Luis Potosí, the government can provide for the other road. Unless the government sends money "with the velocity of lightning [*rayo*]" all will be lost, and "in no way do I consider myself responsible for any bad result."

ENCERO.

April 7, 1847.

"There is not a single grain of powder at Perote nor in the army."² "If the Government does not send quickly [*a la ligera*]" 200 quintals³ of this article, the war cannot be carried on.

ENCERO.

April 11, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Grál en Jefe.

E. S. Con fecha de hoy digo al Sr. Grál Dn. Manuel Arteaga⁴ lo que sigue: "Contesto al oficio de V. S. fecha de ayer en que me comunica que por orden del Supremo Gobierno se dirigia á ocupar con la Brigada de su mando las cumbres de Aculzingo manifestándole; que como quiera que mis convinaciones militares las he formado contando con esa Brigada que hace dias debia estar en marcha para este Cuartel Grál prevengo a V. S. que del punto en que lo encuentre esta comunicaci6n, tome la direcci6n de Perote 6 Jalapa donde recibirá mis ulteriores ordenes; siendo de la responsabilidad de V. S. la menor demora en el cumplimiento de esta disposicion, pues el enemigo desde esta mañana está á la vista de mis posiciones con fuerzas superiores, y trata de hacer un grande esfuerzo para abrirse paso á la capital de la República."

¹ Well-known cities near the coast on the direct railroad from Vera Cruz to Mexico.

² No doubt an exaggeration.

³ The quintal was a hundredweight.

⁴ An officer commanding troops raised by the State of Puebla,

Tengo el honor de trasladarlo á V. E. manifestándole: que por haber dictado el Supremo Gobierno al Gral Arteaga la disposicion indicada se han seguido trastornos a mis convinaciones militares, y Dios quiera que no tengamos que deplorar por ello algunas desgracias.

CERRO-GORDO, *Abril 11 de 1847.*

April 13, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. General en Jefe.

E. S. He conseguido fortificar del mejor modo posible los principales pasos y establecido dos lineas de defenza sostenidas por trienta y cuatro piezas de artillería seis mil infantes y dos mil caballos,¹ prometiéndome un buen resultado si el enemigo que se halla en el Plan del rio² y diariamente se tirotea con mis avanzados, llevare al cabo su intentona de forzar el paso.

Sirva á V. E. de gobierno que toda la fuerza del enemigo se ha dirigido para el Plan del rio á donde se halla, y por lo mismo, no debe temerse nada por el rumbo de Orizava; sin embargo, es necesario prevenir al Sr. Grál Dn Antonio Leon³ que se dirija á aquel punto y fortifique el del Chiquihuite,⁴ conservando su fuerza en Córdoba⁵ como le he prevenido.

La escases de numerario me pone en mil dificultades,⁶ pues estas tropas me piden sus socorros y yo no puedo subministrárselos; y á no ser por algunos viveres con que auxilia á este Ejército el E. S. Gobernador del Estado⁷ y por el ganado que hago conducir de mi hacienda del Encero, y con que contribuyó gustoso, estos soldados que han detenido la marcha del enemigo habrian perecido.

Es preciso que vengan violentamente docientos mil cartuchos de á 19 adarmes;⁸ que se aligere la marcha de los docientos quintales de pólvora que pedí con urgencia en mis notas anteriores y que se le repitan ordenes al Gral Arteaga para que se me incorpore á este Ejército, por ser sumamente necesario.

CERRO GORDO, *April 13 del 1847.*

¹ His forces in the battle of Cerro Gordo probably numbered at least 10,000.

² Plan del Río, a hamlet lying on the National Highway about five miles below the hamlet of Cerro Gordo.

³ Antonio León, an officer commanding a brigade of militia from the State of Oaxaca.

⁴ A naturally strong position near Córdoba on the road from Vera Cruz to Orizaba.

⁵ Córdoba.

⁶ By the date of the battle of Cerro Gordo (Apr. 18) Santa Anna had funds enough, but he may not have had on the 13th.

⁷ Juan Soto.

⁸ In 1847 this was the preferred calibre for Mexican army muskets, though muskets of other calibres were used.

April 17, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Gral en Jefe. Parte.

E. S. He manifestado á V. E. para que se sirva haverlo al E. S. Presidente sustituto,¹ que con la mayor premura fortificaba estas gargantas² para contener el paso del invasor, que ansiaba por llegar á Jalapa para proseguir su marcha á la Capital de la República, y que con mil afanes y en medio de la escases de todo, habia logrado el principal objeto.

Hoy á las doce del dia ha comenzado el enemigo por atacar³ una de mis posiciones en el cerro del Telégrafo,⁴ y he tenido que sostener una lucha de cuatro horas⁵ contra la mayor parte de sus fuerzas mandada en persona por el Gral Scott⁶ habiendo logrado rechazar á este con grande pérdida,⁷ pues ha dejado en el campo porción de muertos y heridos. Por mi parte han resultado un oficial y veinticinco soldados muertos y ciento veintidos heridos de todas clases.

Según se advierte los esfuerzos de los invasores continuaran mañana y la lucha sera encarnizada, porque las tropas de mi mando estan desididas⁸ á sacrificarse en el servicio de su Patria. Las posteriores ocurrencias las comunicaré á V. E. por extraordinario.

Es de necesidad que el Gobierno Supremo auxilie á este Ejército con dinero, y con todos los recursos que le fuere posible, y tan ejecutivamente como se necesita.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL EN CERRO GORDO, *Abril 17 de 1847.*

April 25, 1847.

I hear that 10,000 Americans are landing at Mocambo⁹ and will move directly toward Jalapa without going to Vera Cruz.

ORIZABA.¹⁰

¹ In order to eliminate Farías, who had failed to give general satisfaction as executive but under the constitution would have resumed automatically the duties of that office on Santa Anna's returning to the army, the vice-presidency was abolished by Congress. Hence a substitute president, Gen. Pedro M. Anaya, born in Mexico in 1795, was chosen by Congress when Santa Anna was about to take the field against Gen. Winfield Scott.

² Particularly the pass just below the hamlet of Cerro Gordo and that at La Hoya above Jalapa.

³ Twiggs unexpectedly encountered a small Mexican post while marching to gain the rear of Santa Anna's main position.

⁴ The key to the Mexican position near Cerro Gordo. A few Americans attacked it, but without orders to do so.

⁵ This was a struggle for the possession of a hill named La Atalaya, which stood over against El Telégrafo.

⁶ Neither Scott nor "the greatest part of his forces" was present. The Americans were commanded by Twiggs. Scott did not intend to fight at this time. He was merely aiming to place his troops in advantageous positions.

⁷ The loss in killed and wounded was probably about 100 to 150 on each side.

⁸ Decididas.

⁹ A name applied to the beach opposite the island of Sacrificios and about three miles from Vera Cruz. Scott's army had landed there on Mar. 10. Santa Anna's information that 10,000 Americans were landing there was incorrect.

¹⁰ After losing the battle of Cerro Gordo Santa Anna fled to Orizaba.

April 27, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Gral en Jefe.

E. S. La escandalosa conducta de algunos Jefes y Oficiales del Ejército de Oriente, que no solo fueron los primeros en voltear la espalda al enemigo;¹ sino ir difundiendo el terror hasta esa Capital, hace preciso una medida fuerte de parte del Supremo Gobierno, y yo pido expresamente que todo Jefe ú Oficial que en el término perentorio de veinticuatro horas, no salga² á incorporarse á este Ejército ó presentarse al Gral en Jefe en los dias que el Gobierno le señale, quedará por este hecho sin empleo y se le expedirá su licencia absoluta, llevandose á puro y debido efecto, sin consideración alguna esta disposición. . . .

CUARTEL GRAL EN ORIZABA, *Abril 27 de 1847.*

April 27, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones do Oriente. Gral en Jefe.

E. S. Desde que me encontraba en esa Capital á la cabeza del Gobierno,³ dispuse se ordenase al Gral Dn Ignacio Mora y Villamil⁴ en Jefe del Ejército del Norte, que remitiese á la mayor posible vrebiedad 4 piezas de á 16 y trescientas tiendas de campaña y como no halla sabido si dicho Gral a dado cumplimiento á esta disposición, he de merecer á V. E. se sirva decirme donde se hallan estos materiales; y si han llegado á esa Capital, que se disponga la continuación de la marcha hasta Tehuacan.⁵

Como en Sn. Luis Potosi hay una existencia de mas de cincuenta piezas de artilleria, y por este rumbo no ha quedado casi ninguna de regular calibre, soy de opinión, que se libren ordenes por extraordinario al Sr. Gral en Jefe del Ejército del Norte para que ponga en camino inmediatamente á demas de las de á 16 que se le han pedido una bateria de á 12 y 8, y para que no halla demora en esto, seria bueno que el Supreme Gobierno haga salir carros que conduzcan estas piezas, porque en Sn Luis no ha de haberlos. . . .

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL EN ORIZBA, *Abril 27 de 1847.*

¹ Santa Anna refers to the battle of Cerro Gordo.

² From Mexico City.

³ On his return from Buena Vista.

⁴ Born in Mexico and now about fifty-six years old. During this war he was the chief of the military engineers, but when Santa Anna left northern Mexico after the battle of Buena Vista he appointed Mora commander of the Army of the North.

⁵ Tehuacán, a town of some importance some thirty or forty miles southwest from Orizaba.

April 28, 1847.

Let the ammunition detained at Puebla come to me.¹

ORIZABA.

April 28, 1847.

Yesterday the enemy advanced from Perote to Tepeyahualco about 2,000 infantry, with eight light cannon.² About 3,000 remain at Perote.³

ORIZABA.

April 29, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Gral en Jefe.

Exmo Sr. No he podido oír con indiferencia ciertas especies vertidas en Perote por el Gral de Brigada Dn. Juan Morales, con relación al suceso de cerro gordo. Este Jefe se hallaba arrestado en la fortaleza de aquel punto con los de su clase los Sres Landero⁴ y Durán,⁵ entre tanto se sustanciaba la causa que el Supremo Gobierno les mando instruir; y prevalido de las ocurrencias del día 18 del presente, se ha marchado para Puebla,⁶ en donde se encuentra paseándose, despues de haber escandalizado con sus murmuraciones en el mismo Perote, y en su transito hasta la Ciudad referida. Ha llegado á mi noticia, que á la entrada en aquel Pueblo⁷ de la Caballeria dispersa, á la que iban agregados muchos Jefes y Oficales de infantería, el Gral Morales montado en su caballo andaba de corrillo en corrillo, de casa en casa con aire de triunfo, sembrando por todas partes la insubordinación y el desorden, aumentando con comentarios ridículos las exageraciones de los que en estos casos hechan mano de frivolos argumentos para conectar⁸ su miedo y su cobardía y manifestando sin recato y sin pudor alguno cierta espresión⁹ que por ser tan frecuentes entre sus labios, ha podido sin reserva llegar á mis

¹ Some ammunition on its way from Mexico to Santa Anna stopped at Puebla in consequence of his losing his army at the battle of Cerro Gordo.

² This refers to a brigade of Gen. Worth's division, which Scott had thrown forward rapidly in pursuit of the Mexicans after the battle of Cerro Gordo. Tepeyahualco was a small place about fifteen miles beyond Perote in the direction of Puebla.

³ Worth's division numbered in all about 2,330.

⁴ José Juan Landero of Vera Cruz.

⁵ José Durán, a veteran officer, had commanded the fortress of Ulúa during the siege of Vera Cruz, and, allowing himself to be persuaded by Morales that he was under the orders of the commander of the city, permitted the surrender of the latter to carry with it the surrender of the fortress. Probably the reason for this apparently astounding performance was that the people of Vera Cruz saw that the guns of Ulúa would soon be firing upon them, should that fortress remain under Durán's command after the Americans should take possession of the city.

⁶ A city of about 80,000 population some sixty or seventy miles (by road) southeast of Mexico.

⁷ The town of Perote lay near the fortress of that name.

⁸ This almost illegible word seems to stand for "conectar," and the meaning may be "frivolous arguments to make a bridge from fear to cowardice."

⁹ Expresión.

oidos. *Ahora veremos quien le forma su causa*¹ *al Gral Santa Anna*, es lo que constantemente predica el Gral Morales, sin pararse en medio alguno para detractarme, pretendiendo enbilesar² mi nombre y mi reputación con cierta especie astutamente propagada por los enemigos de la República de que mi persona comete traición contra los sagrados derechos de la Patria. Yo presindo³ de vindicar aquí mi conducta como soldado y como ciudadano Mexicano, por no ser este el objeto de la presente nota, y porque mis hechos como tal pertenecen á la historia y no á mis enemigos personales, y solo me concreto á significar á V. E. que siendo la conducta del Gral Morales en extremo perniciosa,⁴ no tan solo por lo que llevo manifestado, si no que siendo él la causa principal ó la consecuencia precisa del suceso mismo de cerro gordo (que en mi concepto ha debido complacerle) me parece que el Supremo Gobierno debe tomarla en consideración, para ordenar si lo encuentra por conveniente que el expresado Gral continúe arrestado en la Ciudadela de México, y que su fiscal el Sr. Gral Dn. Gregorio Gómez,⁵ que se halla hy en Puebla, prosiga la causa que se le ha mandado formar, hasta que sea vista en consejo de guerra de Sres. Gales, agregándose á ella la presente nota, como se lo suplico al E. S. Presidente sustituto por conducto de V. E.

Como Gral de División del Ejército Mexicano, interesado en su buen nombre, y por el mejor servicio de la patria, pido en toda forma que la conducta del Gral Morales se ponga en tela de juicio, respecto de la entrega al enemigo de las Plazas de Veracruz y Ulúa, presentando á la vez rendidas y prisioneros de guerra sus beneméritas guarniciones, cuando la tropa ni aun descargaba sus fuciles y manifestaba deseos de combatir; cuando la plaza no habia sufrido asalto alguno, ni se habian inutilizado ni perecido las dos terceras partes de la tropa que las guarnecía; cuando, en fin, la de Veracruz no tenia abierta brecha practicable por donde el enemigo pudiese intentar el asalto.

Así que, la conducta del Gral Morales es cobarde y traidora bajo cualquier aspecto que se considere. Veracruz y Ulúa tenían viveres y municiones,⁶ y no hay duda que pudieran resistir hasta mi llegada con las tropas que iban⁷ en marcha y en su auxilio, que ciertamente no ignoraba el Gral Morales, porque se lo habia comunicado el Comandante de Batallón de la Guardia Nacional de Jalapa Dn. Juan de la Mata⁸ que se introdujo en la plaza para llevarle auxilios

¹ Bring formal charges.

² Envilecer.

³ Prescindo.

⁴ Perniciosa.

⁵ Little is known of this man except that he was one of the worst types of the Mexican officer.

⁶ This appears to have been true.

⁷ Iban.

⁸ Nothing is known of this officer.

pecuniarios.¹ No ignoraba que cada día que prolongase la defenza conseguiria un triunfo, porque al enemigo se le disminuian considerablemente sus fuerzas con la enfermedad de la fiebre y el vómito,² en tanto que la estación adelantaba; no ignoraba igualmente, que á la llegada del auxilio que yo mismo conducia, ese enemigo, devilitado³ por sus bajas y anonadado por la constancia de los de la Plaza, debia ser batido por su retaguardia. . . .

Para evadirse de esto el Sr. Morales comprometio al Gral Dn José Juan Landero, á fin de que se encargara del mando,⁴ y que bajo su nombre se consumara la fatal entrega, pasando en seguida á Ulúa á comprometer al honrado Gral Durán para que rindiera aquella fortaleza, convenciéndole primero de que no era mas que el Comandante Militar de ella, debiendo por tanto someterse á lo que el Comandante gral del Estado le preceptuase.⁵ Vease por esto la parte principal, y sin duda alguna exclusiva,⁶ que el Gral Morales ha tenido en el hecho á que voy refiriéndome, cuando hypócritamente pretendio cubrir su crimen con la entrega que hizo del mando al sencillo Gral Landero. Porque aun cuando la plaza de Veracruz careciera de recursos para prolongar su defenza, claro es que quedaba al Gral Morales el de abrirse paso por entre el enemigo con cinco mil hombres de que constaba su guarnición despues de dejar provista de viveres la fortaleza de Ulúa. . . .

Pelear y ser vencido, no es por cierto deshonra en los anales de la Milicia; pero pelear para ser humillado, lo reprueban el honor, las leyes de la guerra, y la civilización del siglo en que vivimos. . . .

Las guarniciones de Veracruz y Ulúa han pasado por las horcas caudinas. Cada individuo fué entregando sus armas y sus banderas, y después se toco fagina para que los Cuerpos se dispersasen y marcharan como pudieran al interior de la República, resultando de esto un desvandamiento⁷ escandaloso, robos y exesos⁸ que comietieron los soldados, y el pánico que á la vez esparcian por todos los pueblos del trancito⁹ con la fatal noticia de que ivan afectados.

La consecuencia de todo debió ser muy funesta para la nación, y aun ese mismo suceso de Serro¹⁰ Gordo que tanto parece ha complacido al Gral Morales, es una de ellas, y por consiguiente un cargo

¹ Mata certainly did this.

² The season of yellow fever was at hand, and cases probably occurred before Vera Cruz surrendered to Scott.

³ Debilitado.

⁴ When it became clear that Vera Cruz would surrender, Morales, who doubtless knew what he had to expect from Santa Anna's hostility against him, turned the command over to Landero and left the city in a boat. Landero then surrendered.

⁵ This appears to be a verb derived from "precepto," precept.

⁶ Exclusiva.

⁷ Desbandamiento.

⁸ Exesos.

⁹ Tránsito.

¹⁰ Cerro.

mas que le resulta, porque siendo su señoría Comandante Gral del Estado, debió fortificar con anticipación aquella importante garganta,¹ cumpliendo así con uno de sus deberes como Gral, al tiempo mismo que con las ordenes y prevenciones terminantes del Supremo Gobierno sobre el particular. Si el punto de Serro Gordo se hubiera fortificado, como era debido, yo me habria encontrado con este apoyo, y el enemigo probablemente no lo hubiera llegado á tomar, pues aunque me poseione² de el y me decidí con un puñado de hombres á disputarle el paso, cuando el enemigo salia de Veracruz con dirección á Jalapa, no fué posible en 8 das³ y sin operarios hacer obras que requerian necesariamente mas tiempo⁴ y mas tranquilidad: bastante se hizo en tan pocos dias como es constante; mas no de manera que los puntos quedaran bien asegurados, cuando apenas hubo lugar de atender á las avenidas principales, de cuya circunstancia supo aprovecharse⁵ el enemigo. . . .

CUARTEL GRAL EN ORIZABA, *Abril 29, 1847.*

May 12, 1847.

TO GENERAL JOAQUÍN REA.

Ejército de operaciones de Oriente. Gral en Jefe.

Conociendo la eficacia de V. S. y el celo por el bien del servicio nacional he tenido por conveniente comisionarlo para que inmediatamente marche á Tlapa⁶ con el objeto de reunir todas las fuerzas permanentes Activas y de Guardia Nacional que existen en aquella demarcación y en las subprefecturas de Acatlán y Chautla, con cuyas fuerzas regresará V. S. á incorporarse á este ejército de mi mando. Igualmente autoriso á V. S. para recoger cuantas armas y caballos utiles de todas aquellas demarcaciones para remontar los cuerpos de caballeria del Ejército y cuantos efectos de guerra existen en las mismas polaciones. . . .⁷

PUEBLA,⁸ *Mayo 12 de 1847.*

AL GRAL JOAQUIN REA.⁹

¹ Morales had not the means of doing this, and until Santa Anna arrived upon the ground it was not known at which of several eligible points (one of them stronger than Cerro Gordo pass) he would decide to make a stand.

² Posesione.

³ Santa Anna was on the ground Apr. 7.

⁴ This was true. Santa Anna displayed remarkable energy and accomplished a great deal. But the real secret of his failure was a lack of judgment rather than a lack of time.

⁵ Aprovecharse.

⁶ This and the towns named below were small places at the southern end of the State of Puebla or nearby in the State of Guerrero.

⁷ Santa Anna believed in taking what he desired wherever he found it.

⁸ Santa Anna had just arrived from Orizaba with what troops he had been able to collect.

⁹ Rea was the principal guerrilla chief in this quarter.

May 13, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Gräl en Jefe.

E. S. Según los partes que he recibido hasta esta hora que son las 9 de la noche, la División de vanguardia del enemigo compuesta de cuatro mil hombres debe dormir esta noche en Amozoc,¹ la División del centro compuesta de mil quinientos en ojo de Agua,² y la retaguardia compuesta de igual fuerza según algunos datos, deberá salir de Jalapa de viernes a Sabado de la presente semana.³

Desde Nopalúcán⁴ dirigió ayer el Gräl Worth al E. S. Gobernador⁵ del Estado la comunicación⁶ de que acompaño á V. E. copia y habiéndome dado cuenta con ella, le indiqué que contestase, que hallándome yo aquí, á mí es quién debía dirigirse.

Como ya he dicho á V. E. la fuerza y elementos con que cuento no son suficientes para comprometer una batalla con el enemigo con probabilidades de buen exito; y por eso he determinado salir el dia de mañana para San Martin Tescmelucan⁷ con las tropas de mi mando divididas en brigadas, y sistemando todo con el orden que corresponde.

PUEBLA, *Mayo 13 de 1847.*

May 13, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Gräl en Jefe.

E. S. Con fecha de ayer dije al E. S. Gobernador del Estado lo que sigue.

"E. S. Al llegar á esta ciudad he leído con la mayor sorpresa y disgusto consiguiente, el bando que el dia 29 del pasado publicó en esta ciudad el prefecto Dn. José Sánchez prescribiendo las reglas que debe observar la población cuando el Ejército enemigo entre á esta misma Ciudad.⁸ . . ."

He determinado que se abra un juicio al funcionario indicado para que responda de su conducta ante los tribunales competentes. . . .

PUEBLA, *Mayo 13 de 1847.*

¹ A manufacturing town of considerable size on the road from Jalapa and Perote to Puebla, and ten or eleven miles from Puebla.

² Ojo de Agua, a point between Tepcyahualco and Amozoc, where there was a very large spring.

³ This part of the American army, commanded by Gen. Twiggs, left Jalapa on May 22.

⁴ A rather important town on the same road about thirty-six miles from Puebla.

⁵ J. R. Isunza.

⁶ In this communication Gen. Worth announced that he was about to occupy Puebla, and expressed a wish to confer with the authorities previously, so as to arrange matters amicably.

⁷ A town about twenty miles from Puebla on the direct road to Mexico.

⁸ Santa Anna had reason to protest against the proclamation, for it showed no disposition to oppose the Americans. The authorities of the State and city had in fact arranged to receive our forces amicably.

May 13, 1847.

Ejército de operaciones de Oriente. Gral en Jefe.

E. S. . . . La proclama¹ que el Gral Scott dirige á la nación mexicana, la cual por su estilo parece escrita originalmente en Castellano² y no traducida del yngles. Ojalá que no sea cierta la sospecha que abrigo de que sea redactada por algun mexicano de esos que han contribuido con sus escritos y con sus hechos á enconar á los mejicanos unos contra otros, y á llevar á la nación al lastimoso estado en que hoy se encuentra.

Esa proclama de Scott está escrita con la mas refinada hipocresia³ y con la mas infame perfidia. Es el mayor de los insultos que se puede hacer al pueblo Mexicano, á quien se pretende adormecer para hacerlo presa de la ambición de esa Nación⁴ enemiga de nuestra raza, cuando por otra parte no tiene embarazo en proclamar por la prensa y en documentos oficiales que viene á hacernos una guerra de conquista.

Ya se ve, ese escrito está en armonia con algunos de los que han visto la luz pública en esa Capital en los últimos días, que con razón los han juzgado los mexicanos sensatos, mas perjudiciales por la ponzona que encierran, que la pérdida de una batalla.

Pero en medio del encono que demuestra tener contra mi el Gral Scott, me honra demasiado, cuando dice *que ellos se equivocaron al juzgar de mis verdaderas intenciones*⁵ y *que por eso me permitió su Gobierno regresar á mi país*. En efecto V. E. los Estados unidos se engañaron cuando creyeron que yo sería capaz de traicionar á mi patria. Antes que tal cosa sucediera, preferiría ser quemado en una hoguera y que mis cenizas se esparcieran para que de ellas no quedara ni un solo atomo.⁶

PUEBLA, Mayo 13 de 1847.

May 15, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. Gral en Jefe.

E. S. . . . El enemigo pernoctaba en Amozoc y yo me preparaba para pasar á situarme en este pueblo con las tropas de mi mando, el día de ayer. En efecto, la infantería y la artillería salieron para este lugar; pero la caballería la reservé para hacer un movi-

¹ A proclamation dated May 11 and issued at Jalapa (House exec. doc. 60, 30th Cong., 1st sess., p. 968).

² This conjecture was correct. The proclamation proceeded from Mexican and clerical sources.

³ Hipocresia.

⁴ The United States.

⁵ Intenciones.

⁶ It is doubtless true that in giving the United States to understand that he was likely to make peace, should he regain power in Mexico, Santa Anna believed that it would be for the advantage of his country to terminate the unequal contest.

miento, con el ánimo de sorprender unu convoy de cerca de docientos carros que caminaba custodiado con muy poca fuerza ¹ á unirse á la primera división ² del ejército enemigo, llevando el movimiento el doble objeto de desafiar á este, para que saliendo de Amozoc á un terreno conveniente, se librase una batalla.

El convoy que llevo referido pernoctó el dia 13 en Nopalucan, y yo calculé que aunque saliere muy temprano, lo encontraría mas acá de Acajete ³ en el punto en que el terreno se presta para a maniobra de la caballeria, pero sin duda la circunstancia de venir al cuidado de muy poca tropa, obligó al Jefe de esta á salir precautoriamente á media noche, de manera que á las ocho y media de la mañana hora en que yo flanqueaba á Amozoc para tomar el camino real, ya el convoy estaba muy proximo al pueblo, en un callejon cubierto con árboles de un lado y otro que lo defendian de los ataques de mi tropa. Sin embargo, el enemigo ⁴ temeroso de que el convoy fuera tomado, destacó inmediatamente en su auxilio una fuerza como de mil infantes y seis piezas de artillería, con las cuales hizo un vivo cañoneo sobre mi columna, que impávida prosiguió su marcha hasta una legua mas allá de Amozoc, en cuyo punto determiné contramarchar á Puebla á donde llegué á las cuatro y media de la tarde en el mejor orden.⁵

Toda la poblacion de esta hermosa Ciudad se conmovió al entrar mi división dando señales del mas vivo entusiasmo. Yo tuve trabajo para caminar, porque millares de ciudadanos me rodeaban victoreando á la independencia y á la República y pronunciando palabras que esplicaban el odio que profesan á nuestros invasores.⁶

En estos momentos, diversas sensaciones tuvo mi corazon, porque veia á un pueblo animado que me pedía con empeño armas para defenderse, dando las mas patentes señales de amor á la libertad de su patria; y porque reflexionaba en la responsabilidad que han contraido, los que, pudiendo, no han sacado todo el partido posible de la buena disposición de ese mismo pueblo.⁷ Lo que ha faltado en aquella ciudad, Sr Exmo, son hombres que lo muevan en provecho de la causa nacional.

¹ Under Gen. John A. Quitman.

² Gen. Worth's.

³ Between Amozoc and Nopalucan.

⁴ Gen. Worth.

⁵ Santa Anna's account of this affair is not entirely correct. He nearly surprised Worth's division at Amozoc, for that general had neglected to post guards and send out patrols; but the fire of the American artillery quickly scattered the Mexicans. They re-assembled, however, and proceeded against Quitman; but Quitman, who had in fact set out early so as to reduce the distance between himself and Worth, had been warned by the noise of the firing, and, assisted by a detachment promptly sent to his aid by Worth, presented so imposing a front that Santa Anna gave up the idea of attacking him.

⁶ It is quite possible that impressionable Pueblans acted about as is here stated; but in reality that city disliked Santa Anna deeply, and he knew it.

⁷ Santa Anna refers to the State and city authorities, who had in fact an understanding with the Americans.

Prosiguiendo el hilo de la narración que hacía de la operación militar, liré á V. E. que aunque el guia que me conducía por haber equivocado el camino, nos condujo á tiro de metralla del pueblo de Amozoc y flanqueamos completamente ese pueblo, dando á entender al enemigo con este atrevido movimiento el desprecio con que lo veíamos. Él no se resolvió á alejarse del lugar en que tenia todo su apoyo, una vez que vió asegurado el convoy; y tanto yo como todos mis subordinados nos regresamos con el sentimiento de que el enemigo no hubiera admitido nuestro reto en campo raso. La pérdida que tenemos que deplorar en esta función de armas es la de tres soldados muertos y un herido y cuatro caballos muertos.¹

No obstante que se sabia que el enemigo debía moverse muy temprano para Puebla, yo quise que la División de Caballería pernoctase anoche en la misma ciudad y al amanecer de hoy emprendió su marcha para este Pueblo, al que llegué yo igualmente esta mañana.

SAN MARTIN TESMELUCAN, *Mayo, 15 de 1847.*

May 16, 1847.

Ejército de Operaciones de Oriente. General en Jefe.

E. S. Desde ayer hasta hoy que son las ocho de la noche, no ha ocurrido otra cosa digna del conocimiento del Supremo Gobierno, que haber ocupado el Enemigo á la ciudad de Puebla en numero de cinco mil infantes, doscientos caballos,² rece piezas de artillería y cuatro cientos carros, y segun los partes que he recibido, aquella populosa ciudad se movio toda en plazas y calles balcones y ventanas para presenciar la entrada de los invasores. Una persona que llego esta mañana y habló con un Jefe enemigo me ha informado que aquel le aseguró que dentro de un mes se pondrian en marcha para esa capital, despues de haber recibido un gran refuerzo. . . .

Las guerrillas que dije organizadas en tierra caliente cerca de Veracruz atacaron al destacamento que existía en Santa Fé, compuesto de cincuenta hombres, á quienes pasaron á cuchillo, apoderandose de sus armas, caballos, equípos y algunas otras cosas.³ Estas operaciones aunque en pequeño son las que mas daño pueden hacer al enemigo y por eso he tomado tanto empeño para que por todas partes por donde Aquel se encuentre se organicen partidas ligeras que lo hostilicen á todo trance.

Dios y Libertad.

CUARTEL GRAL EN SAN MARTIN, *Mayo 16 de 1847.*

¹ American reports made his loss considerably larger.

² The Americans numbered less than 4,000.

³ An affair of this general kind did take place.

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